



THE MUSICAL QUARTERLY

MUSIC IN THOMAS HARDY'S LIFE AND WORK

By ELNA SHERMAN

ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO, on the second day of June in the year eighteen hundred and forty, a boy was born in a thatch-roof cottage at Higher Bockhampton in Stinsford Parish, near Dorchester, the county town of Dorset in southwestern England. The infant was its parents' first-born; on delivery it was pronounced by the surgeon to be dead. But the nurse, a neighbor's wife, shrewd and experienced in such matters, scrutinized the wizened mite and contradicted the professional opinion. "Dead! Stop a minute: he's alive enough, sure!" And so saying, she applied the traditional treatment for prodding into life those newcomers who hesitate to enter it, and the first cry of the infant Thomas Hardy, the third in direct succession of that name, was wafted out into "Cherry Alley" at eight o'clock of a summer's morning.

* * *

Four other Thomas Hardys of the same family have gone on record as men noteworthy in character and achievement, from the Elizabethan benefactor of the Dorchester Grammar School,

whose memorial tablet may still be seen in St. Peter's Church, Dorchester, to the captain of the *Victory* at Trafalgar, whose monument tops a rounded hill southwest of Mai-dun Castle not far from Dorchester. Another Thomas Hardy, living in Dorchester in 1724, was a subscriber to Dr. Croft's "Thirty Select Anthems in Score." From him, but separated by two or three intervening generations, were descended the three successive Thomases whom we shall hereafter sometimes designate as Thomas the first, second, and third.

Music was the predominant interest in the boy's early environment. Thomas' grandfather (1778-1837), had been a musician, an excellent violoncellist, when as a young man in 1801 or 1802 he came to Higher Bockhampton from Puddletown nearby. In the latter village he had ably directed the church music, which was performed by a choir of singers re-inforced by a band of eight players including "woodwind and leather"—clarionets, hautboys, and serpents—as well as strings.¹ At Stinsford parish church, where the musicians' gallery was too small for such a large group as at Puddletown, he set about organizing a string band and choir, which soon gained a high reputation. His two sons, James and Thomas, joined him later with treble and tenor violin,² and a certain James Dart played the counter part (= the alto part)³ the singers being grouped about each of the string players according to their respective parts. Mrs. Florence Hardy, in the first chapter of "The Early Years of Thomas Hardy", describes in detail the musical accomplishments of the Hardy family, and publishes a plan of the musicians' gallery in the tower of Stinsford Church, drawn by Hardy as a young man, under the supervision of his father. This gallery has long since been removed, owing to remodelling of the church.

The Stinsford parish string band and choir not only furnished all the music for the church services, but formed the nucleus of the parish Christmas waits. The Hardys, father and sons, were

¹ The Jacobean gallery at Puddletown still remains and, in August, 1927, when Hardy, then eighty-seven years of age, was visited by Gustav Holst regarding the latter's tone-poem, "Egdon Heath," Hardy took him to Puddletown church and with him climbed the stairs, worn hollow by countless footsteps, to the scene of his grandfather's first musical activities.

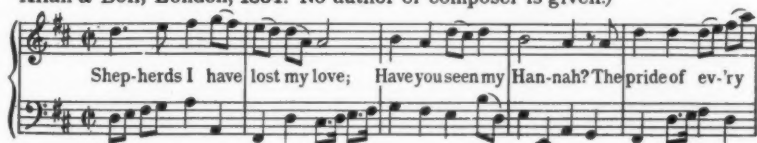
² Not the tenor violin proper (tuned an octave below the treble, or usual violin, and played like a small 'cello) but the viola, is meant here.

³ Played by a second violin.

in great demand the year round for dancing, at christenings, weddings, harvest- and shearing-suppers, and for their services it was a strict rule with them to accept no pay. About 1822, the Rev. Edward Murray, a connection of the Earl of Ilchester, the patron of the living at Stinsford, became vicar, and took up his residence at Stinsford House instead of at the vicarage. Here, two or three times a week, Thomas Hardy and his two sons repaired to play string quartets with the musical vicar, who was a skilled violinist.

But time brought changes, and it so fell out that Thomas the second severed his connection with the choir a year or two after the birth of Thomas the third. The death of the grandfather occurred in 1837; thus young Thomas never knew the fine old man, and he was too young to remember his own father's playing in the Stinsford church. The preoccupation of the family with music did not abate, however, and evenings at home were spent in playing and singing. The boy's mother had a sympathetic voice and was fond of singing songs and ballads of the time, such as "Gaily the Troubadour" and "Jeannette and Jeanot"; his father played innumerable folk-songs and dance tunes, to which little Thomas reacted with great sensitiveness, dancing ecstatically to the jigs, reels, and hornpipes (of which his father showed him the traditional steps) and being moved to tears by some, whereupon he would dance even more frantically to hide his embarrassment. Mrs. Hardy mentions a few of these tunes in her biography of her husband; among them were "The Fairy Dance" and "Miss Macleod". These two dance tunes, with several others that Hardy was fond of, are given in an article by the present writer entitled "Thomas Hardy: Lyricist, Symphonist", in "Music & Letters" for April, 1940. The following example, a song from the old MS tune-book compiled by Hardy's grandfather,⁴ is typical of the music Hardy heard as a boy.

Ex. 1 "A Favourite Irish Song", from the old MS song and ballad book in the hand of Thomas Hardy the first. (Also in Wilson's "Musical Cyclopaedia", Allan & Bell, London, 1834. No author or composer is given.)



⁴ See Appendix *infra*.

sha-dy grove, Up-on the banks of Ban-nah. I for her my home for-sook Near yon mist-y
 moun-tains, Left my flock, my pipe, my crook, My green-wood shades and foun-tains.

The lad learned to play the violin while still very young. A small accordion had been given him by his father in 1844: young Thomas, soon outgrowing this, learned to tune his father's violin and, almost without knowing how, began to play. By the time he was ten or twelve he had learned from his father—who had inherited, from Thomas the first, two carol and ballad books compiled in his own hand, and who owned also an old dance-tune book—countless jigs, reels, and country dances of all kinds, and he was soon in demand as a fiddler. Mrs. Florence Hardy, in her biography of her husband, relates of him, as a boy of thirteen or so, that on one occasion he played the popular "New-Rigged Ship" for twelve vigorous couples for three-quarters of an hour on end, his hostess finally stopping the boy's frenzied playing "for fear he would burst a blood-vessel."

Thomas's mother had a table-piano⁵ which her son tried to tune; but knowing nothing, then, of acoustics or of equal temperament, he was puzzled because, though each one of the fifths would individually sound true, he could not, try as he might, make the "flat" fifths meet the "sharp" ones. Believing the fault to be in his ear, the lad was very modest in his own estimation of his musical ability. But his sensitiveness to sound and his love of music deep-

⁵ Square pianos, the cases of which were constructed like tables and which sometimes had drawers for music, were common in England during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. (See the section entitled "The Square Piano" in the article, "Piano-forte", in Grove.) Johannes Zumpe, long with Shudi in London, was the first to make a "square" piano, of the shape and size of a virginal. Some of these had eighteen keys to the octave, the black keys being divided to escape the compromise of equal temperament. The action, resembling Schroeter's (Marpurg, 1764), was the model for square pianos until about 1800.

ened as he grew into young manhood, and he longed passionately to study and become an organist and church-music director. Had the circumstances of his family been easier, or had he possessed a little more confidence in his own talent in music, his course in life might have led him into this field.⁶

The boy was deeply moved by the music he heard at the Stinsford parish church. In course of time an organ had replaced the string band, but the standard of the choir and of the music set by the first Thomas Hardy had left its mark. One wonders how long the fine old canticle services, Jackson in F and Jackson in E-flat (spoken of by Mrs. Florence Hardy in her biography), and "Pope's Ode," and anthems with portentous repetitions, and 'mountainous fugues' " were persisted in, but they certainly made a deep impression; and (again according to Mrs. Hardy) "Old Hundredth," "New Sabbath," "Wilton," "Lydia," and "Cambridge New" as well as "Barthelemon" and "Tallis" (both as played to Ken's morning and evening hymns) were known and loved by the lad. "See the conquering hero comes" and "The Dead March" in *Saul* attracted him, and, long before he knew they were both the work of Handel, he noticed the similarity of their style, in spite of their totally different effects.

Young Thomas's impressionable mind not only gathered and stored the music he actually heard, sang, played, and danced, but vividly re-created the stories his parents told him of his grandfather's famous choir. The carols and hymns which they played and sang were doubtless performed by their successors—indeed many of these tunes are still used now in England and in America as well. And there were the old tune-books already mentioned, that had come down from his father and his grandfather, in a typical 18th-century script, besides a later one compiled about 1820, bearing on its flyleaf in the hand of Thomas the third: "T. Hardy, Senr [?] from James Hook, to whose father it belonged."⁸ Small wonder is it that to Hardy, growing up as he did in this wholesome but discriminating musical environment, singing, playing, and dancing, were as natural as breathing; and that throughout his

⁶ Mrs. Florence Hardy told the writer of her husband's secret longing, which never quite left him even in his later years, to be a musician.

⁷ Academic fugues are not meant here, but simply pieces with fugato passages; cf. the "fuguing tunes" of Billings.

⁸ See Appendix.

life he bore the mark of these early impressions.⁹ When, later, the young novelist achieved his first artistic success in "Under the Greenwood Tree", it was into this rich musical heritage that he delved for the fine ore from which he fashioned an outstanding literary achievement—a musical novel, or vignette, if you will—that rings true to the musician no less than to the man of letters.



When the present writer visited the late Mrs. Florence Hardy at Max Gate, in the early autumn of 1936, Mrs. Hardy seemed gratified to be able to discuss the musical aspects of her husband's life and work, which she agreed had been largely overlooked by his critics. His retiring disposition, she said, prevented him from talking freely of his passion for music; but that it was ever present, and of a character that deeply affected his work, she was certain there could be no doubt. Mrs. Hardy's biography in two volumes, "The Early Life of Thomas Hardy" and "The Later Years,"¹⁰ contains a great deal of information about the musical activities not only of his father and grandfather, but also of himself in childhood and youth as well as throughout his later life. She writes that, while the young Hardy was working at the office of Hicks the architect in Dorchester (1856-1862), his daily activity included study of the Greek and Latin classics in the early morning hours, work at the office by day, music—at home, or outside when he played for dancing—in the evening and often until far past midnight. During the following period of architectural work at the office of Blomfield in London, Hardy and his colleagues sang glees at intervals during the day to relieve the tedium and confinement, Mr. Blomfield himself taking the bass.

At Hill's in Old Bond Street, Hardy saw a violin he wanted;¹¹ he hoarded his savings, and through the good offices of his cousin, Nathaniel Sparks, who aided him in negotiations, he finally brought it in triumph to his humble lodgings. This violin became his constant companion throughout his long life. Its fine tone gave

⁹ Ernest Brennacke, Jr., in his "Life and Art of Thomas Hardy" (N. Y. 1925), quotes the poet as saying in his later years: "The spell of the old hymns and carols is as strong as ever."

¹⁰ Macmillan, N. Y., 1928 and 1930.

¹¹ This violin and Hardy's 'cello are on exhibition in the Hardy Memorial Room at the Dorset County Museum, Dorchester.



Hardy's 'Cello, used in the late 18th century in the choir of Olverston Church in Gloucestershire and rebuilt for Hardy in 1902 by his cousin, Nathaniel Sparks, a violin maker who served his apprenticeship at Hill's in London



Stinsford Parish Church, the "Mellstock" of "Under the Greenwood Tree", where Hardy's grandfather directed the choir and played the 'cello (c. 1801-37) and his father and uncle played viola and violin



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Hardy the medium of musical expression he had ardently longed for; at once he plunged into operatic scores that he had learned to love during his apprenticeship in London. Although he remained a staunch supporter of English opera and frequently attended performances of Balfe, Wallace, and others under the direction of William Harrison and Louisa Pyne, he had become particularly fond of the Italians—Bellini, Donizetti, Rossini, and, most of all, Verdi—with whose works he and a colleague, a good amateur pianist, were conversant through repeated attendance at Her Majesty's Theatre and Covent Garden. Together the youths explored every opera score they could lay their hands on, often playing on into "the wee small hours."

An entry in Hardy's diary, October 27, 1865, records his attendance at Lord Palmerston's funeral at Westminster Abbey, and notes the music: "'Purcell's service,' 'Dead March in Saul'." A letter to his sister Mary describes the occasion in full, and further notes on the music run: "The opening sentences, 'I am the Resurrection,' etc., were sung to Croft's music. Beethoven's Funeral March was played as they went from the choir to the vault. . . . I think I was never so much impressed with a ceremony in my life before. . . ." Church music continued to hold him; a diary entry in 1892 records Tennyson's funeral at Westminster Abbey: "Music . . . sweet and impressive. . . ." In another letter to his sister Mary, who was still at home, he says: "Tell me about the organ and how the Sundays go off. I am uncommonly interested."

Hardy's love of dancing and of dance music took him frequently, as a young man, to Almack's (then—in 1862—called Willis's); also to the Argyle and Cremorne. At Almack's the original tunes for the Lancers and Caledonians were still played. While yet at Hicks's in Dorchester, he had been fascinated by the whistling of a nameless quadrille, brought from London by a casual acquaintance. The tune now still haunted him, but he listened in vain for it in his rounds of the London dancing-rooms. So did the tune obsess him that he even searched piles of old music-books in the British Museum in the hope of identifying it, but with no success. Years later he heard the tune played on a hand-organ and rushed hatless into the street after the rapidly vanishing organ-grinder, to ask him the name of the piece. "Quad-rill-a,

quad-rill-a," was all the man could say. But Hardy insisted on examining the list of tunes glued inside the instrument. Alas! this was no more revealing—"Quadrille" was the only designation to be found.

After Hardy's reputation as a novelist was established, he and his first wife—Emma Lavinia Gifford—spent several months of each year in London. Music had been a common interest with the couple from their first meeting at St. Juliot in Cornwall. On their visits to the capital, they continually heard much music—opera, ballet, symphony—, of which frequent note is made in Hardy's diary. Mrs. Florence Hardy's biography records some of his musical experiences and impressions. In 1886, on the occasion of a Wagner concert, Hardy observed: "It was weather and ghost music—whistling of wind and storm, the strumming of a gale on iron railings, the creaking of doors; low screams of entreaty and agony through key-holes, amid which trumpet-voices are heard. Such music, like any other, may be made to express emotion of various kinds: but it cannot express the reason of that emotion." In 1906, when Hardy met Grieg in London, they fell into a discussion of music, and Hardy is said to have remarked that "the wind and rain through trees, iron railings and key-holes, fairly suggests Wagner music." To which Grieg retorted: "I would sooner have the wind and rain!"

In 1887, the Hardys journeyed to Italy; in Pisa, they ascended the famous leaning tower during the pealing of the bells and felt its tremendous and alarming vibrations. Through Hardy's boyhood experience of the ancient custom of change-ringing in English parish churches,¹² he had acquired an interest in church bells, and in Venice, he writes in his diary: "Yes, here to this visionary place I solidly bring in my person Dorchester and Wessex life; and they may well ask why I do it. . . . Yet there is a connection. The bell of the Campanile of San Marco strikes the hour, and its sound has exactly that tin-tray *timbre* given out by the bells of Longpuddle and Weatherbury, showing that they are of precisely the same proportioned alloy."

At the Sala delle Muse of the Vatican the sheer weariness of the

¹² Change-ringing: ringing the changes, or varied patterns "composed" for different occasions; each bell of the peal is numbered, and the team of change-ringers, each with his own bell to ring, is practised in the sequences, being directed by a leader who also has his own bell.

sight-seer overcame him and he fell into a doze as he sat on a bench to rest; the result was "The Vatican: Sala delle Muse," from "Poems of Pilgrimage", from which these revealing lines, in which he communes with his Muse, are quoted:

"Today my soul clasps Form: but where is my troth
Of yesternight with Tune: can one cleave to both?"
—"Be not perturbed," said she. "Though apart in fame,
As I and my sisters are one, those, too, are the same."

—"But my love goes further, to Story, and Dance, and Hymn,
The lover of all in a sun-sweep is fool to whim—
Is swayed like a river-weed as the ripples run!"

—"Nay, wooer, thou sway'st not. These are but phases of one;

"And that one is I; and I am projected from thee,
One that out of thy brain and heart thou causest to be—"

A Strauss waltz unexpectedly heard when Hardy was visiting Caligula's palace brought to his fancy echoes of ancient gaities. Here is a passage from "On the Palatine", also from "Poems of Pilgrimage":

When lo, swift hands, on strings nigh overhead,
Began to melodize a waltz by Strauss:
It stirred me, as I stood, in Caesar's house,
Raised the old routs Imperial lyres had led,

And blended pulsing life with lives long done,
Till Time seemed fiction, Past and Present one.

The love of Strauss's waltzes long burned bright in Hardy's breast; back in 1869 he first heard the *Morgenblätter* at Weymouth, and years later he wrote the delightful poem "At a Seaside Town in 1869" (from "Moments of Vision and Miscellaneous Verses"); a postscript to the poem reads simply, "From an old note".

In the spring of 1887, the Hardys were back in London, and from this time on we find occasional diary entries recording concerts: the Heckman Quartet at Alma-Tadema's, a performance of *Carmen*, and the ballet at the Alhambra. Hardy's jottings were records, sometimes of bare fact, sometimes of subjective impressions with but little indication of particulars. An illustration of the latter is as follows: "June 25 [1887]: At a concert at Prince's Hall

I saw Souls outside Bodies." An inkling of what he meant is given by two other entries: "Jan. 3 [1886]. My art is to intensify the expression of things, as is done by Crivelli, Bellini, etc., so that the heart and inner meaning is made vividly visible." "March 1 [1889]. In a Botticelli the soul is outside the body, permeating its spectator with its emotions. In a Rubens the flesh is without, and the soul (possibly) within. . . ." But often we find both the objective and the subjective, as witness the following, quoted from "The Later Years of Thomas Hardy", by Mrs. Florence Hardy:

May [1901] found them [Hardy and his first wife] in London, and hearing music. At an Ysaye concert at Queen's Hall a passage in the descriptive program evidently struck him—whether with amusement at the personifications in the rhetoric, or admiration for it, is not mentioned—for he takes the trouble to copy it:

"The solo enters at the twelfth bar . . . later in the movement a new theme is heard—a brief episode, the thematic material of the opening sufficing the composer's needs. In the Adagio the basses announce and develop a figure. Over this the soloists and the first violins enter.' (Bach's Concerto in E.) I see them: black-haired, lark-spurred fellows, marching in on five wires."

Hardy's particular love of Strauss waltzes, and of dancing and dance music in general, already noted, led him often to The Imperial Institute in London to hear Edouard Strauss's Vienna Band,¹³ and even to renewing his visits to Willis's in later life, where he danced the polka, mazurka, and schottische as of old. We find an account of his attending a delightful lamp-light dance on the green at Rushmore, where the Hardys were guests of Gen. and Mrs. Pitt-Rivers, in September 1895. Here the old country-dances were indulged in as well as the popular ball-room dances of the day. But this strenuous evening made Hardy lame for some time after; advancing years, however, did not prevent him from enjoying an occasional dance, and we read of his waltzing with Mrs. Grove (afterward Lady Grove), daughter of Gen. and Mrs. Pitt-Rivers, in London in 1896, to the strains of "The Blue Danube".

But nothing more convincingly proves Hardy's remarkable

¹³ We read of Hardy's hearing also the orchestra from La Scala, Milan, at the early summer concerts given at The Imperial Institute, in 1898.

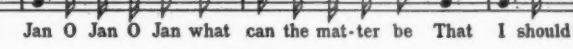
living interest in the dance and its music than the testimony of certain members of the Hardy Players of Dorchester. From about 1910 to the middle twenties this group staged dramatizations of Hardy's stories, such as "The Distracted Preacher", "The Three Strangers" and "The Trumpet Major", as well as the Wessex scenes from "The Dynasts", the mummer's play of "St. George and the Dragon", "The Famous Tragedy of the Queen of Cornwall", and an old Wessex "folk-play" recreated by Hardy from his indelible memory of it as a boy—"O Jan, O Jan, O Jan".

Ex. 2 "O Jan, O Jan, O Jan"


Introduction

Gent to Jan

Gent to Jan

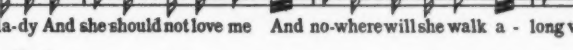


O Jan O Jan O Jan what can the mat-ter be That I should love this

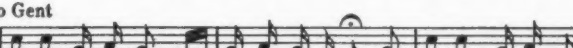


fair la-dy And she should not love me And no-where will she walk a - long with me.

Jan to Gent



O mair-ter mair-ter dear don't thou the la-dy fear For she shall be thy joy and thy



on-ly on-ly dear And she shall walk a - long with thee ev - ry - where.

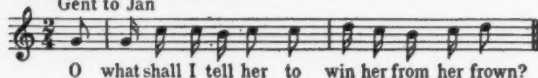
Three-handed Reel – Hey part only

(Strings)

(Strings)

Two staves of music for strings. The top staff is in treble clef and the bottom staff is in bass clef. Both are in 2/4 time. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The music consists of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some triplets indicated by a '3' over the notes.

Beginning of play proper
Gent to Jan



Thereafter: Jan to Gent - Lady to Gent - etc. This goes through six more stages, similar in idea to "The Keys of Canterbury", or "A Paper of Pins"

Hardy, often present at rehearsals, took an active part in the selection and coaching of the incidental dances and music; and on one occasion, at least, proved himself still, in spite of his approaching eightieth birthday, quite capable of performing the dance-steps and tunes for the instruction of the players—dancers and musicians—, his versions being in the authentic traditional style, learned, when he was but a very small boy, from his father.

Hardy himself added to the MS tune-books of his father and grandfather. On the flyleaf of the book compiled by James Hook, Hardy made a diagram of a dance figure, shown in the illustration opposite this page. This is the subject of an interesting article in the "Journal of the English Folk-Dance Society", Vol. III, No. 3, 1937. Facing the diagram, on an inserted page, Hardy wrote the "Dorchester Hornpipe". In November, 1907, he sent this tune, cut out of the note-book, to the Dorsetshire regiment in India, which had asked him for "a marching tune with the required local affinity, for fifes and drums". He replaced the severed page with the one shown in the same illustration.

During Hardy's later years, when the moderns, Vaughan Williams, Rutland Boughton, Gustav Holst, and others were beginning to be heard, Hardy, without apparently making much effort to hear them (for he was not now often in London), was notwithstanding somewhat conversant with certain of their works, after about 1924, through gramophone and radio, and through personal contact with several composers who made settings of his poems and drew inspiration from his novels and plays. In this connection, Professor Weber's article with bibliography in "Music & Letters" for April, 1940, is of great interest. Mrs. Hardy describes a visit from Rutland Boughton when, in June, 1924, he came to Max Gate to consult with Hardy about his setting of "The Queen of Cornwall". She writes that her husband admitted his preference for Rossini and Johann Strauss, but that he found much stimulation in Boughton's companionship. Yet Hardy, for all his fondness



Above left: Facsimile of dance figure, "Swing Cornets", in hand of Thomas Hardy, on flyleaf of MS note-book compiled by James Hook. *Above right:* Facsimile of "The Dorchester Hornpipe", in hand of Thomas Hardy, in the same note-book. *Below:* Facsimile of "When War's Alarms", from the MS note-book compiled by

A B C D E F G H I J K L M N O P Q R S T U V W X Y Z
 The above is a list of the letters of the alphabet in the order in which they are written in the manuscript. The letters are written in a cursive hand, and are arranged in a single line. The letters are written in a cursive hand, and are arranged in a single line.



The Shepherd's Song



The Shepherd's Song



When we are alone, and the world is so still,
 And the stars are so bright, and the moon is so still,
 And the wind is so soft, and the water is so still,
 And the birds are so sweet, and the flowers are so still,
 And the world is so good, and the world is so still,
 And the world is so good, and the world is so still.



When we are alone, and the world is so still,
 And the stars are so bright, and the moon is so still,
 And the wind is so soft, and the water is so still,
 And the birds are so sweet, and the flowers are so still,
 And the world is so good, and the world is so still,
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Above left: Facsimile of dance figure, "Swing Corners", in hand of Thomas Hardy, on flyleaf of MS note-book compiled by James Hook. Above right: Facsimile of "The Dorchester Hornpipe", in hand of Thomas Hardy, in the same note-book. Below: Facsimile of "When War's Alarms", from the MS note-book compiled by



Egdon Heath

The source of inspiration of the famous description in Hardy's "The Return of the Native" and, both directly and—through Hardy's description—indirectly, of Gustav Holst's tone-poem



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for Mozart, Verdi, and other classicists and opera composers of the late 18th and early 19th centuries, possessed a remarkable comprehension of the newer music as it developed during the later 19th and early 20th centuries. His observations on Wagner, expressed in 1906, reveal much insight: "I prefer late Wagner, as I prefer late Turner, to early (which I suppose is all wrong in taste), the idiosyncrasies of each master being more strongly shown in these strains. When a man not contented with the grounds of his success goes on and on, and tries to achieve the impossible, then he gets profoundly interesting to me. Today [writing of a particular concert] it was early Wagner for the most part: fine music, but not so particularly his—no spectacle of the inside of a brain at work like the inside of a hive."

In August, 1927, Gustav Holst came to Max Gate on a momentous errand. He had long admired "The Return of the Native", and had tentatively begun a tone-poem inspired by Hardy's magnificent description in it of Egdon Heath. When the invitation came to write something new for the New York Philharmonic-Symphony Orchestra, Holst resolved to finish this work and wrote at once to Hardy asking for an interview, which was readily granted. Holst, accordingly, came down in August, and Hardy motored with him to Egdon Heath, not far distant from Max Gate, outside of Dorchester, to let the composer hear for himself the strange sounds described in this famous passage. Miss Imogen Holst, in her book, "Gustav Holst" (Oxford University Press, 1938), quotes an interesting letter from her father describing this visit. It appears that Hardy was already familiar with Holst's "The Planets", having heard records played by Col. T. E. Lawrence (Lawrence of Arabia, a friend and neighbor of the Hardys) on a small portable gramophone that Lawrence had with him one day, when Hardy accompanied him on the open moors near Dorchester—a background peculiarly fitting for an introduction to Hardy of Holst's music. Holst's remarkable achievement in his tone-poem "Egdon Heath", in catching not only the spirit of the heath, but its audible voice as well, must be doubly acclaimed after a visit to these wild, untamed acres, in late August or September. It is at this season, when the heath-bells are dry but not yet fallen, that one may hear the eerie sound of the wind through their myriad tiny trumpets. Once heard, this sound,

mingling with but distinct from the deeper tones of gusts passing through trees and shrubs and over gently rounded hollows, can never be forgotten. It was on the occasion of Holst's visit to Egdon Heath with Hardy that the poet took the composer to Puddletown to show him, in the ancient parish church, the musicians' gallery where Hardy's grandfather had first directed the church music. Holst's deep interest in church- and folk-music no doubt gratified Hardy as much as the older man's open-mindedness towards modern music delighted the younger one.

From 1885 on, we find in Hardy's diary frequent references to music heard and pondered over in the solitude of Max Gate, where he spent more and more time. A diary entry must be noted here:

Aug. 14, [1892] Mother described today the three Hardys as they used to appear passing over the brow of the hill to Stinsford Church on a Sunday morning, three or four years before my birth. They were always hurrying, being rather late, their fiddles and violoncello in green-baize bags under their left arms. They wore top-hats, stick-up shirt collars, dark blue coats with great collars and gilt buttons, deep cuffs and black silk "stocks" or neck kerchiefs, had curly hair, and carried their heads to one side as they walked. My grandfather wore drab-cloth-breeches and buckled shoes, but his sons wore trousers and Wellington boots.

We cannot refrain at this juncture from going back a few years, to December 31, 1889, to quote Hardy's account of the New Year's Eve ringing at St. Peter's, Dorchester. He writes in his diary:

The night-wind whiffed in through the louvres as the men prepared the mufflers with tartwine and pieces of horse-cloth. Climbed over the bells to fix the mufflers. I climbed with them and looked into the tenor bell: it is worn into a bright pit where the clapper has struck it so many years, and the clapper is battered with its many blows.¹⁴

The ringers now put their coats and waistcoats and hats upon the chimes clock and stand to. Old John is fragile, as if the bell would pull him up rather than he pull the rope down, his neck being withered and white as his white neckcloth. But his manner is severe as he says, "Tenor out?" One of the two tenor men gently eases the bell forward—that fine old E-flat . . . (probably D in modern sharpened pitch), my father's admiration, unsurpassed in metal all the world over—and answers, "Tenor's out". Then old John tells them to "Go!" and they start. Through long practice

¹⁴ This famous tenor bell figures in Hardy's "The Trumpet Major."

he rings with the least possible movement of his body, though the youngest ringers—strong, dark-haired men with ruddy faces—soon perspire with their exertions. The red, green and white sallies bolt up through the holes like rats between the huge beams overhead.

The grey stones of the fifteenth-century masonry have many of their joints mortarless, and are carved with many initials and dates. On the sill of one louvered window stands a great pewter pot with a hinged cover and engraved: 'For the use of the ringers 16—' [It is now in the County Museum.]

On Christmas Eve, 1893, Hardy received the carol singers at Max Gate "as usual" and writes: "... though quite modern, with a harmonium, they made a charming picture with their lanterns under the trees, the rays diminishing away in the winter mist." On New Year's Eve, 1894, he heard the distant peal of bells from the tower of Fordington-St. George, so still was the atmosphere. On November 11, 1894, there is a record of three old songs heard. One last quotation from Mrs. Hardy: "On the 23rd of December [1926] a band of carol-singers from St. Peter's, Dorchester, came to Max Gate and sang to Hardy 'While Shepherds Watched,' to the tune which used to be played by his father and grandfather, a copy of which he had given the Rector."

Since Hardy's diary entries were always more or less fitful, these examples may be considered indicative of many unrecorded musical experiences and impressions about which we may never know. We are indeed indebted to Mrs. Florence Hardy for her faithful and painstaking presentation of these chronicles which, incomplete as they are, nevertheless shed much light upon the poet's inner life. The reader is referred to her two-volume biography, which contains evidence that not only the old hymns and carols, but also the tunes of strolling singers and players,¹⁵ the songs of birds (some noted by Hardy in musical notation)¹⁶ and the music of nature, all continued to interest him until the end.



But it is in thoughtfully studying Thomas Hardy's work—the novels, stories, plays, and poems—that we are confronted with the

¹⁵ See "Music in a Snowy Street," in "Human Shows—Far Phantasies".

¹⁶ See "The Early Life of Thomas Hardy," p. 76.

most compelling proof of his musical susceptibility and the significance of this side of his nature in shaping his art. The musical passages in his writings seem to proceed from four different facets of his musicality: first—his keen perception of sounds in nature and of human voices and instruments; second—his pre-occupation with music, its signs, and symbols, and its effect on the daily lives of men and women; third—his thorough familiarity with, and appreciation of, the remarkable heritage of folk-music that was his; and fourth—his fine sense of the underlying rhythm and music of life, as expressed in the animate and inanimate worlds, in time and circumstance.

The first category is expressed in such passages as the opening chapter of "Under the Greenwood Tree", in which the keynote of the tale is at once set by the telling description of the sound of the wind through the firs, the holly, and the ash; or again, in the same book, at the end, after the wedding dance,¹⁷ when the song of the nightingale is heard from a neighboring thicket "in a loud, musical and liquid voice—"Tippiwit! swe-e-et: Ki-ki-ki! Come hither, come hither, come hither!" Or, such as this, from "Far From the Madding Crowd", when on a spring morning Farmer Boldwood goes out to propose to the fair Bathsheba Everdene, as she busies herself with her young lambs on a neighboring lea: "He approached the gate of the meadow. Beyond it the ground was melodious with ripples, and the sky with larks; the low bleating of the flocks mingling with both." And in "The Woodlanders", Chapter VIII, he writes about the sighing of the wind in the young pines freshly planted, reflecting the mood of hopeless love of two human souls, about the "Gregorian melodies" chanted by the elm-tree, austere symbol of their subsequent fate; and in Chapter XLVII about "the low harmonies produced by the instrumentation" of the various species of trees.

But the supreme passage is, of course, the one already referred to, from "The Return of the Native"; since it is too long to quote here without mutilation, the reader is urged to peruse it for himself. It is in Book I, Chapter VI, and runs from the fourth through the ninth paragraphs. Bonamy Dobrie observes that Hardy's landscapes are not mere setting, they "are part of the emotion, not literary fudge"; the same thing may be said of his musical back-

¹⁷ "Haste to the Wedding"; see "Music & Letters" for April, 1940, p. 169.

grounds, references, metaphors—they are inextricably interwoven with the whole in a pattern of exquisite subtlety.

It is useless to quote many passages of the second category, for, without their context, they lose their aptness and flavor. The reader can best discover them for himself; nevertheless, a few examples will perhaps stimulate the quest. The sly humor in the graphic characterizations of Fancy Day's eyebrows—"like slurs in music," in "Under the Greenwood Tree" (Book I, Chapter VII) can be appreciated only by reading the account of the gay and rollicking Christmas dance in which the young lady figured. The sinister implication of Tess's whistling "Take, Oh Take those Lips Away" comes with full force to the reader of the whole tragic tale of "Tess of the D'Urbervilles". And if anything in the girl's pathetic history could be more poignant than her wistful listening to the church bells, the chants, and the hymns, while she felt herself a social outcast, it must be "the stopt diapason note" of her voice, as the shrill tones of her little brothers and sisters mingled with her deeper ones, in the psalm the little group sang at the homely improvised baptism of her dying infant, in their attic chamber. But perhaps the most powerful example of sound in relation to the fate of men and women is found near the end of "Tess"—in the scene of her apprehension at Stonehenge. The humming of the wind through the ancient temple ruins—a music ominous, foreboding, played on an instrument inexorable, timeless—was as fatefully fascinating to Tess as to the cowed followers of the Druids.

The third type of musical reference in Hardy's work is the most obvious, and naturally has received the most attention—the frequent mentioning of folk-songs, dances, ballads, carols, and other music, these being used not metaphorically but as entities with something of the force of characters and events, or of the concreteness of objects, yet withal maintaining the fluidity of time. Miss Ruth Firor, in her "Folkways in Thomas Hardy"¹⁸ has a chapter dealing with folk-song, dance, and drama in Hardy's works. This chapter may well prove a useful guide to the reader who cares to trace the pieces. The present writer has added to Miss Firor's not inconsiderable list, and has looked for and found many much earlier origins for the songs than appear in Miss Firor's

¹⁸ University of Pennsylvania Press, 1931.

"Folkways". In addition, the present writer has had access to the three musical notebooks formerly in the Hardy family and now in the Dorchester Museum. Many of Hardy's references are to be found in those MS books already mentioned, two of which were compiled by his father and grandfather, and a third by James Hook, whose son James (known to Thomas Hardy the first and second as "Jimmy Hook") gave the book to the Hardys long before Thomas the third was born.¹⁹

A description of these old books with interesting associations in Hardy's life and works is appended to this article, together with an analysis and partial list of their contents. Much of the material has been collated by the present writer, and it is extremely interesting to find one after another of the tunes figuring in the dance, song, ballad, and hymn of Colonial and Post-Revolutionary America. When the work of detailed comparative study is complete, the contents of those old music books will constitute not only a treasure-trove for lovers of Hardy but also a rich source of folk-song and folk-dance, of great interest in relation to the music of the early settlers of New England, many of whom came from the town of Dorchester and its surrounding county of Dorset.

Eva Mary Grew, in her article "Thomas Hardy as a Musician" (in the April, 1940, number of "Music & Letters"), quotes several passages from Hardy's works in which old folk-songs and folk-dances play a part. The tunes, "The Triumph," "The New-Rigged Ship," and "How Oft Louisa", mentioned by her, may be found, among others, in the present writer's article in "Music & Letters", already referred to, there presented exactly as they appear in the old Hardy music books.

Mrs. Grew quotes from "The Return of the Native" (Chapter V) a passage describing a dance to the famous "Devil's Dream". This titillating tune figures also in a short story of Hardy's, "Absentmindedness in a Parish Choir" (in "A Few Crusted Characters"). How it proved the undoing of a church choir, similar to the one that Hardy's grandfather conducted, is described


¹⁹ It is not yet clear whether this James Hook was the well known composer (1746-1827) or a local composer by the same name. The book is evidently the work of a highly skilled musician, and it contains a number of the noted James Hook's compositions, besides two unique ones, signed "James Hook" that are the work of no ordinary country musician. The author is awaiting further information concerning the possible connection of the Hardys with the well known composer Hook.

by Hardy, somewhat as follows: The choir, bemused with hot grog to warm them in the chilly musicians' gallery, and weary, at Christmas Sunday service, after a round of dances throughout the holiday evenings, fall asleep during the sermon. On being suddenly awakened for the hymn, the drowsy men, thinking they have been napping between dances, strike up this "sinful" tune with disastrous consequences. To quote:

"They poured out that there tune till the lower bass notes of 'The Devil Among the Tailors'²⁰ made the cobwebs in the roof shiver like ghosts; then Nicholas [the leader], seeing nobody moved, shouted out as he scraped—'Top couples cross hands. And when I make the fiddle squeak at the end, every man kiss his pardner under the mistletoe!'

"Then the folks came out of their pews, wondering down to the ground, and saying: 'What do they mean by such wickedness! We shall be consumed like Sodom and Gomorrah.' [Says the squire:] 'Not if the Angels of Heaven come down shall one of you villainous players ever sound a note in this church again—'.

"That very week he sent for a barrel-organ²¹ that would play two-and-twenty new psalm-tunes, so exact and particular that, however sinful you was, you could play nothing but psalm-tunes whatsoever. He had a really respectable man to turn the winch . . . and the old players played no more."

Ex. 3 "The Devil's Dream" or "The Devil Among the Tailors", from the MS tune-book compiled by James Hook. (Also in Wilson's "Companion to the Ball Room", London, 1817. Note the difference in accent:  etc. in several printed versions played in New England.)



²⁰ Or "The Devil's Dream."

²¹ The barrel-organ bridged the interval between the old "string-woodwind-and-leather" choirs (as these disappeared during the 19th century) and the keyed organ now widely in use. The psalm-tunes were recorded on metal rolls, similar to those in music-boxes; a steady hand was required to keep the rhythm regular, as the present writer can testify after trying a barrel-organ in the Dorchester Museum.

Hardy's delightful novel "Under the Greenwood Tree", already mentioned, refers to several of the old carols found in one of the tune-books belonging to Hardy's father and grandfather. These are "Behold the Morning Star", "Rejoice Ye Tenants of the Earth", and "Oh What Unbounded Goodness, Lord". The first and last are also contained in a little book mimeographed under Hardy's direction in 1910, a copy of which was given to the present writer by Mr. E. T. Stevens, one of The Hardy Players.

Ex. 4 "O What Unbounded Goodness, Lord"

Handwritten musical score for the hymn "O What Unbounded Goodness, Lord". The score is written on three staves in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The lyrics are written below the notes.

O what un-bound-ed good-ness, Lord, Hast Thou this morn dis-play'd Hast
 Thou *etc.* In send-ing here the wondrous Child Who in a man-ger lay'd.
 In send-ing here *etc.*

This tune and "Rejoice Ye Tenants of the Earth" were sung by the Mellstock choir on Christmas Eve under the windows of Miss Fancy Day, the charming schoolmistress who bewitched young William Dewey. (See Part 1, Chapter IV of "Under the Greenwood Tree"). In Chapter V, "Behold the Morning Star" was carolled beneath the windows of the surly Farmer Shinar, William's rival in love. "Four breaths and No. 32, 'Behold the Morning Star'", commanded old William Dewey, the 'cellist and leader of the choir.

Ex. 5 "Behold the Morning Star"

Handwritten musical score for the hymn "Behold the Morning Star". The score is written on four staves in D major (two sharps) and 4/4 time. The lyrics are written below the notes.

Be - hold the morn-ing star a-rise The Prince of Peace ap - pear. — Be -
 hold the morn-ing star *etc.* Ser - aph - ic
 le-gions rend the skies, Ser-aph-ic *etc.* Hark, Hal-le-lu-jah,
 hear! Ser-aph-ic le-gions rend the skies. Hark, Hal-le-lu-jah, hear!

But Farmer Shinar was in no mood for Christmas caroling, and "they had reached the second verse and the fiddlers were doing the up-bow stroke previously to pouring forth the opening chord of the third verse, when without a light appearing or any signal being given, a roaring voice" proclaimed its disapproval! But old William Dewey was not to be silenced: "'Finish the carrel, all who be friends of harmony!'"—and so they continued to the end.

In "The Mayor of Casterbridge" (Chapter VIII) a scene is described taking place at "The Three Mariners", an ancient inn formerly standing in High West Street in Dorchester. "Casterbridge" is Hardy's name for that town. It is there that Donald Farfrae held the motley assembly, gathered in the inn parlor, mute and spellbound by his ballad singing. How it impressed the heroine and the other guests may be seen:

Elizabeth-Jane was fond of music; she could not help pausing to listen; and the longer she listened the more she was enraptured. She had never heard any singing like this; and it was evident that the majority of the audience had not heard such frequently, for they were attentive to a much greater degree than usual. They neither whispered, nor drank, nor dipped their pipe-stems in their ale to moisten them, nor pushed the mug to their neighbors.

The song "My ain Countree" was followed by "A burst of applause, and a deep silence which was even more elequent than applause. It was of such a kind that the snapping of a pipe-stem too long for him by old Solomon Longways . . . seemed a harsh and irreverent act." Farfrae was obliged to repeat the last stanza, and drew this comment from the literal-minded Christopher Coney, who was more moved than he liked to admit: "'What did ye come away from yer own country for, young maister, if ye be so wovnded about it? . . . we be bruckle folk here . . . God a' mighty sending his little taters so terrible small . . .'"

Farfrae was then urged, by a stout, purple-aproned dame, to "'turn a strain to the ladies.'" "'Let him breathe—let him breathe, Mother Cuxsom. He hain't got his second wind yet!'" said the master glazier. 'O yes, but I have!' exclaimed the young man; and he at once rendered 'O Nannie', with faultless modulations, and another or two of like sentiment, winding up at their earnest request with 'Auld Lang Syne.'"

The above quotations could be multiplied many times from

out Hardy's work, including the poetry and drama as well as the fiction; but these examples, it is hoped, will suffice to arouse the reader's curiosity and start him on a Hardy tune-hunt. The references appended to this article will help him to locate some of them.

Ex. 6 "O Nannie", from the MS tune-book compiled by James Hook. (Also in Wilson's "Musical Cyclopaedia". Music by Dr. John Percy.)

Oh, Nan - nie wilt thou fly with me Nor sigh to leave the
 charm-ing town, Can si - lent glens have charms for thee, The low-ly cot and
 rus - set gown, No long - er dresst in silk - en sheen, No long - er deck'd with
 jew-els rare? Say canst thou quit the bu - sy scene Where thou wert fair-est of the fair?
 Say canst thou quit the bu - sy scene Where thou wert fair-est of the fair? Where
 thou wert fair-est, where thou wert fair est of the fair?

Hardy's poetry contains a wealth of folk-tune and other musical references, and has, besides, interesting musical elements in its very structure. When, after the barrage of criticism following "Jude the Obscure", Hardy decided to turn from novel-writing and to devote himself entirely to poetry, he had already made tentative plans,²² as recorded in Mrs. Hardy's biography, for "Songs of twenty-five years. Arrangement of songs: Lyric Ecstasy inspired by music to have precedence." If he later abandoned this scheme, it was doubtless because he realized that he could not classify his poems as musical and non-musical. About 1899, he writes: "Poetry is emotion put into measure. The emotion must come by nature, but the measure can be acquired by art." In many of Hardy's poems the influence of folk-music is

²² In 1892, after the publication of "Tess of the D'Urbervilles".

profoundly felt; in others there is to be discerned the influence of modern music—or was it the same urge that prompted both? Early in his career, Hardy sensed the analogy between music and poetry and strove to express, through contrasts of concord with discord, and regular with irregular rhythm, the same range of feeling that the composer voices by similar means. Perhaps his early training in architecture and his long practice in the Gothic art-principle—the principle of spontaneity—was also partly responsible for his mastery of the craft of poetry, and helped make it the vehicle of his all-embracing art.

The fourth aspect of music in Hardy's work—the deep musical undercurrent of his thought and its inherent rhythm and melody—is at once elusive and pervading; it can be felt in all his work, notably in "The Queen of Cornwall", but, above all, in "The Dynasts". One of the greatest epic poems of modern times in English, "The Dynasts" is conceived like a vast symphony, from the grand sweep of its colossal outline to the minutest details of scene and verse. The scope of this work is so immense and its musical significance is so arresting that it would require special discussion, which space here does not allow.²³ Study "The Dynasts", gentle reader, looking wide beyond the scenes and deep below the surface: read it in the silence of the night and listen for its eternal music, voiced through "The Spirit of the Years":

Hold what ye list, fond unbelieving Sprites,
You can not swerve the pulsion of the Byss,
Which thinking on, yet weighing not its thought,
Unchecks its clock-like laws,

and through The Spirit of the Pitiees:

Nay: — shall not Its blindness break?
Yea, must not Its heart awake,
 Promptly tending
 To Its mending,
In a genial germinating purpose, and for loving-
 kindness' sake?

* *

*

On the morning of December 11th, 1927, at the age of eighty-

²³ See the present writer's article, "Thomas Hardy: Lyricist, Symphonist", already referred to.

seven years, Hardy felt for the first time in his life unable to work. He continued to be about the house, however, until the day after Christmas, when he was obliged to take to his bed. His friend Sir James Barrie came down from London on January 10th, and Hardy suddenly seemed much better: all had hopes of his recovery. But at dusk the following day he fell into a reverie; he asked for a verse from Omar Khayyám. A severe heart attack followed, and he slipped away shortly before nine in the evening, January 11th, 1928. Mrs. Hardy writes "An hour later one . . . saw on the death-face an expression such as [I] had never seen before on any being, or indeed on any presentment of the human countenance. It was a look of radiant triumph, such as imagination could never have conceived. Later the first radiance passed away but dignity and peace remained."

On January 16th, the poet's ashes were buried in Westminster Abbey. A spadeful of Dorset earth was sprinkled on the coffin, while the nation's distinguished figures in letters and affairs did homage to the simple countryman. At the same hour, in Stinsford Parish Churchyard, under the softly rustling boughs of the ancient yew and pine, the heart of Thomas Hardy was laid beside the remains of his ancestors, whose music he had loved so well.

NOTE: The tunes included in this article and the pictures of the Hardy 'cello and of pages from the note-books of James Hook and Thomas Hardy the first are, through the courtesy of Lieut.-Col. Charles D. Drew, Curator of the Dorsetshire Museum in Dorchester, printed with the kind permission of the Executors of the Estate of the late Mrs. F. E. Hardy. The quotations from the poems and novels are made with the authorization of The Macmillan Company and Harper & Brothers respectively.

APPENDIX

Descriptions and selected lists of contents of musical note-books belonging to Thomas Hardy, his father, and grandfather.

KEY TO REFERENCES

- CHO Chappell's "Old English Popular Music."
- CHP Chappell's "Popular Music of the Olden Time."
- DR Drexel 5819, N. Y. Public Library.
- FER "The Art of Dancing" by Edward Ferrero, on sale at his Academy, No. 59, W. 14 Street, N. Y., 1859.
- MC James Wilson's "Musical Cyclopaedia", London, 1834.
- OX "The Oxford Song Book", edited by Percy Buck, O.U.P.

PEP J. W. Pepper's "Universal Dancing Master, Prompter's Call Book and Violinists Guide", by Lucien O. Carpenter (Philadelphia's leading dancing master, 1882.)

RMC Ryan's "Mammoth Collection of more than 1000 Reels, Jigs, Hornpipes, Clogs, Strathspeys, Essences, Walkarounds, and many Contra dances with Figures." (A Fiddler's tune-book printed in America, pub. and date missing, but probably about 1850.)

TP "The Country Dance Book" by Beth Tolman and Ralph Page, Countryman Press, Weston, Vermont, and Farrar and Rinehart, N. Y., 1937.

W Wilson's "Companion to the Ballroom", London, 1817.

I. "THOMAS HARDY, HIS BOOK, PIDDLETOWN [Puddletown] APRIL 25, 1800."

Small, parchment-bound volume, about 9" by 5½" and nearly 1" thick; heavy foolscap paper, staves ruled by hand; treble and bass, with words, as in Playford's "Select Musical Ayres to the Theorbo or Bass Viol". This book contains 92 songs and ballads, among which are found:

Page	Title and Reference
16	Jocky to the Fair. Playford's "Vocal Music or The Songster's Companion", 2nd edition, 1772; CHP, Vol. II.
20	A General Toast. Sheridan, in his "School for Scandal", where it appears as "Here's to the Maiden of Bashful Fifteen". See CHP, Vol. II; also MC and Vol. I of OX.
26	Gramachree Molly. The tune known as "The Harp that once through Tara's Halls", used by Sheridan in "The Duenna", where it appears as "Had I a Heart for falsehood framed"; also in MC as "As down on Banna's Banks I stray'd", etc.
32	A Favourite Irish Song. "Shepherds I have lost my love" = "The Banks of Banna" in MC.
42	Catch. "Hark, the bonny Christ church bells", by Dr. Aldrich, in Playford's "Second Book of the Musical Companion" (1687); OX, Vol. II.
67	Ill Fares the family. Sung in the Kentucky mountains.
68	An Old Widow Who Married an Old Widower. "Had she not care enough" by Jeremiah Savile in Playford's "Catch as Catch Can" (1667).
74	The New Election set Mr. Henry Carey [<i>sic</i>]. "Cuss'd be the wretch that's bought and sold".
79	The Heaving of the Lead. Attributed to Pearce in MC.
80	When I was a little boy. See CHP: "The Fool's Song", in "Twelfth Night" otherwise known as "Such a Beauty I did grow".
88	A Rose Tree. "A rose tree in full blowing".

Completely reversing the book and beginning at the opposite end, we find a list of titles of hymns and carols. Thomas Hardy the third has written on the flyleaf under his grandfather's inscription as follows: "The Carol-book of T. H. I (1778-1837)—Bass—used at Puddletown and afterward at 'Mellstock'—(violoncello)." It was the custom for musicians to use the same book for hymns and ballads, each type of composition beginning at opposite ends of the book. Then follows an Index of the hymns and carols, of which the bass only appears. There are thirty-six of these, including No. 14, "While Shepherds Watch'd" and No. 18, "Hark, hark, the glad sound".

II. DESCRIPTION OF MUSICAL NOTE-BOOK BELONGING TO T. HARDY, SENIOR

About same measurements as other; has board covers of raspberry color, with leather back evidently pasted on at a later date. The paper is rather heavy, ruled for music. On inside cover in pencil (probably T. H. the third's hand):

Fashionable Dances of 1811 in London.

Russian Dance
Fisher's Hornpipe
Ricker's Hornpipe
Speed the Plough
Del Caros Hornpipe
Copenhagen Waltz

On the flyleaf, in T. H. the third's hand, in pencil, is a description of the College Hornpipe as danced at Mellstock about 1840. On the flyleaf opposite, in ink, in T. H. the third's hand, is inscribed:

T. Hardy [Sen]?
from
James Hook
to whose father it belonged
(Compiled about 1820)

Partial list of tunes with references

- | <i>No. in Book</i> | <i>Title and Reference</i> |
|--------------------|---|
| 4 | La Belle Catherine. W. |
| 6 | Paddy Carry. John Whitaker, in DR and RMC. |
| 10 | Ap Shenkin. Button and Whitaker's "Selection of dances, reels, and waltzes for the Pfte., Harpsichord, Violin, or German Flute", No. 8, printed for the editors, No. 73, St. Paul's Churchyd, included in DR. |
| 12 | The Fairy Dance. "Five Favourite Dances", No. 18, in DR; RMC. |
| 15 | New-Rigg'd Ship. "Five Favourite Dances" (a different series from the foregoing), W. Andrews, No. 9, in DR; also in W. |
| 17 | College Hornpipe. W; OX, Vol. II; and PEP. |
| 18 | Miss McCloud (McLeod). RMC; TP; and "Five Favourite Dances" (still a different series), sold at Clare Ct., Drury Lane, in DR. |
| 19 | Haste to the Wedding. W; "Compleat Tutor for the German Flute", ca. 1777. See article "Haste to the Wedding", in "Journal of the Folk Dance Society", Vol. III, No. 3, 1937; also RMC. |
| 20 | The Flowers of Edinburgh. James Hook. MC; and RMC, as a reel. |
| 21 | The Turnpike Gate. W; RMC as a reel, somewhat different from the Hardy version, which is in six-eight time. |
| 24 | Soldier's Joy. RMC; TP. |
| 29 | Miss Richard's Hornpipe. RMC as "Ricket's Hornpipe"; also in TP. |
| 32 | The Legisey (Legacy). In same collection as "Miss McCloud", in DR; also in RMC. |
| 33 | Grammachree is a Jug of Good Drink. See "The Circle" in "American Country Dancing", by Elizabeth Burchenal; see also MC for parody on "Grammachree Molly" as a drinking song. |
| 35 | Drops of Brandy. In same collection as Garry Owen, in DR; W. |
| 36 | The Irish Washerwoman. See CHO, where it is called "The Country Courtship"; W; RMC; TP; and OX, Vol. II. |

No. in Book Title and Reference

- 40 Speed the Plough. W; TP; and RMC with many grace notes.
- 45 Vulcan's [Cave]. In Hodsoll's "Collection of Popular Dances" (by permission of Mr. Ware), in DR; this tune is derived from "Cease your Funning", by Gay, in MC and CHP, Vol. II.
- 49 Brighton Camp, or "The Girl I Left Behind Me". CHP, Vol. II (ca. 1758); in TP; and RMC; see also "The Social Harp" by E. R. White, 1855, and "Spiritual Folk Songs of Early America", by G. P. Jackson, where it appears adapted as a hymn, "My Brethren all, on you I call."
- 92 The Poor but Hornist [*sic*] Soldier, or The Blue-eyed Stranger. See G. P. Jackson, "Spiritual Folk Songs of Early America", where it is called "The Soldier's Return"; "Scots Musical Museum" where it is called "When Wild War's Deadly Blasts"; "The Morris Tune Book," Part I by Sharp, where it is called "The Mill, the Mill O".
- 94 The Sylph. (Referred to by Hardy in "The Dance at the Phoenix".)
- 98 The Triumph. W; Button and Whitaker's "Selection of Dances, Reels, and Waltzes", in DR.
- 99 Captain Wyke's Dance (Captain White's Dance). (Referred to in "The Romantic Adventures of a Milkmaid".)
- 110 Slow March. Called "The Dorchester March" in "Compleat Tutor for the German Flute", early ed. about 1800, Ford Col., N. Y. Pub. Lib.
- 120b Favourite Quickstep. (Referred to in "The Romantic Adventures of a Milkmaid".)
- 125 The Plains of Vittoria, or "The Roast Beef of Old England", by Richard Leveridge. CHO.
- 139 How Oft Louisa, by Wragg (no words given). MC, with Sheridan's words from "The Duenna"; "The Compleat Tutor for the German Flute" (c. 1800), Ford Col. N. Y. Pub. Lib. (again without words).
- 163 Steem Bout [Steam Boat]. Kidson's "English Country Dances"; RMC.

This list represents but a fraction of the 238 tunes in the Hardy notebook under consideration. The book is written throughout in a neat musicianly script. The whole is carefully bowed and phrased, and abounds in musical signs and directions for the player.

III. DESCRIPTION OF FRAGMENT OF CAROL BOOK OF THOMAS HARDY II.

On flyleaf: "Thomas Hardy, Bockhampton" [in old hand] "The Carol Book of T. H. II (used on the rounds, on Xmas Eves.) in the Mellstock Quire, down to about 1842" [in Thomas Hardy the third's hand]. A small home-bound book, foolscap cut in half, watermarked, "J. H. Bune, 1838", apparently a fragment only of original; contains 34 hymns and carols.

IMPONDERABLE ELEMENTS OF MUSICALITY

By MARGIT VARRÓ

THERE ARE MANY PEOPLE who are incapable of grasping the meaning of the tonal language. Music remains for them throughout their lives a book with seven seals. This fact is usually not attributable to any defect in the sense of hearing itself but rather to the low degree of affectibility of this sense.¹ But where this affectibility, or rather this sensitivity to auditory impressions of a musical nature, is not present, such impressions cannot really be received and assimilated.

Persons to whom music finds no access whatever are not very common. All the more striking, then, is the number of those who are capable enough of receiving musical impressions, but only those which are of a light and purely sensuous nature. Are such persons to be classed as *musical*? By no means. For those who find pleasure only in superficial music, in popular hits and the like, and yet are hopelessly bored by Mozart, Beethoven, or Debussy, are almost as far removed from the musical enjoyment of truly musical persons as they are close to the obtuseness of the wholly unmusical. They are to be compared to those who prefer shallow sentimental novels and detective stories to any other reading.

Only those may really be called musical, in the higher sense of the word, to whom music is a deep experience, an enrichment of

¹ Kant's remarks in the *Kritik der Urteilskraft* are pertinent: "It is worth noting that two of our senses (hearing and sight), in addition to the receptivity to impressions necessary to the formation of concepts of external objects, *are capable of another special and related sensitivity*, of which one cannot definitely say whether it resides in the sense itself or in the process of reflection; and that this *affectibility* may be lacking even where the *sense* itself, so far as regards its use for the recognition of objects, is in no way defective but on the contrary often especially fine." Apart from the fact that in our opinion an "especially fine" sense means an acute one, Kant's differentiation is well founded. For it is true that fewer persons lack a normal sensitivity of the physical organ of hearing than the normal sensitivity of what we may call the psychical (*seelische*) organ for the reception of musical impressions. Whether this want is due to an organic lack or simply to a functional disturbance or inhibition would have to be determined in each individual case. (The italics in the quotation are the present writer's.)

the soul and a nourishment of the spirit. To such people, *music speaks* and they react in their inner being to its message; *something in them understands music directly*. This understanding seems to be an innate gift.² But why it is that a succession of tones represents to some people a rich experience while to others it remains a mere series of sounds, pleasant or unpleasant—that is something we sense rather than know. In the absence of a rational explanation we must perhaps assume the presence in a musical person of some inner transforming mechanism, which converts mere auditory impressions into musical ideas. The ear is the mere entrance to this mechanism. Tonal successions that are not *converted*, and are thus not grasped as having an essential connection, remain mere dead material to the spirit. They go in one ear and out the other, as mere unrelated auditory phenomena.

It would be a mistake to think that deeply sensitive and cultivated persons necessarily possess the capacity for musical experience. There are quite ordinary people, without any special culture, to whom the language of tones is thoroughly understandable, and, on the other hand, there are deeply sensitive spirits that have no direct access to it.³

How is one to explain to an unmusical person what goes on in a musical man when he drinks in a Bach fugue or a Beethoven Symphony? And it is equally impossible to compare the musical experiences of different individuals; for there is no way in which each one can describe his own.

The musical experience of the individual is wholly personal and subjective in nature. If one were to try to explain it in words to an outsider one would encounter the same problem as in at-

² How otherwise may one explain the fact that young children often react spontaneously and quite correctly to the emotional content of music, as for example when a five-year old child, hearing the music of Siegfried's death for the first time, puts away his playthings and asks "Whom are they burying?", while an older child brought up in the same surroundings, seems as it were *deaf to music*?

³ Among the latter belong Kant, Heine, Flaubert, Zola, etc. Of special interest is Goethe's relation to music, as reflected in his conversations and observations. His universal interests embraced music along with everything else, but his reaction to it was almost wholly intellectual. To the directly, primitively emotional element in music he was a stranger; indeed he almost consciously rejected it, as if he felt that it threatened his inner equilibrium. See, for example, his remarks on Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, as related by the young Mendelssohn in his letters (Henselt, *Die Familie Mendelssohn*). Everything untamed was foreign to Goethe's nature, and it is significant that in all musical matters he followed the advice of his well-tempered friend, the pedantic old Zelter.

tempting to portray to another the nature of a physical pain, or to compare one's own experience of pain with someone else's. Such a comparison is possible only to the extent that the listener can identify himself in feeling with the describer. For pain as such does not exist outside of subjective experience: it does not exist when we do not feel it, and accordingly it is not susceptible to objective comparison.

That which produces the subjective musical experience, on the other hand, the musical work itself—that *exists* outside of our individual personalities. It sounds, and this or that quality of it puts us into the same mood with other listeners; it compels us to live through a certain sequence of feelings. This predetermined experience, contained in the work itself, is the basis for a possible comparison of the experience of different hearers. And the possibility becomes an actuality when two people convey to each other an account of the experience which they have derived from a particular piece of music by playing or singing it to each other. For in this objectification through personal expression the similarity or dissimilarity in the nuances of feeling occasioned by the music may be made clear.

Thus through a comparison of the musical *expressions* of different persons it is possible to compare their musical *experiences*. In fact musical expression provides the only authentic means of communication and comparison; for an experience which has come to one in the language of tones can be fully reproduced only in that language. One thing, however, must not be forgotten. Even this possibility exists only where it may be assumed that the *expression* is truly an equivalent of the *impression*. And when dare one make such an assumption? For the most part only among those artists who are rightly known as "reproducing" artists. And here, too, we must make a qualification: the only authentic guarantee of the accuracy of reproduction is—or would be—that of the composer.⁴

But if qualifications must be made in speaking of performing artists, what is one to say of the majority of musical people, who do not possess a technique of expression sufficient to make any

⁴ This introduces, of course, another element besides the artist's impression and its degree of correspondence to his expression—namely the composer's conception, which would seem to be not strictly a part of this particular question.—Tr.

such tangible basis of comparison possible? Are they cut off from any possibility of communicating their musical experiences to one another? Logically speaking, it would seem as if they should be. But in practice they possess certain means of making themselves understood—means which cannot, to be sure, be subjected to any objective test, and yet have a very real existence, like many other things that cannot be classified or tested. The contact which such people have with each other relative to any musical experience is a matter of pure feeling, like the *communio mystica* between lovers. And the means of communication are similar, consisting largely of glances and gestures. The glances exchanged between listeners at particularly striking or unexpected places in the music, or the simultaneously felt need for a hastening or slackening of the tempo, as revealed in gestures—these suffice without any words to satisfy two people of the identity of their musical experience, and with a certainty that makes any objective comparison superfluous. But a common experience which rests entirely upon inner feelings is what is called a mystical one. And this is not the only aspect of listening to music which has mystical traits; they are even more strikingly present in the musical experience of the individual.

Actually, every intense musical experience of a higher order is mystical in nature. This is illustrated by the unmistakable similarity between musical experiences and mystical ones of a religious nature. Among the prerequisites of mystical experience, the first is withdrawal from all disturbing environmental impressions, and a tendency to seek isolation in the depths of one's own inner being. (It is not for nothing that the fervent listener, like the fervent worshipper, closes his eyes: the very derivation of the word mystic is from *μύειν*: to close one's lips or eyes.) This act of closing oneself off from the outside world makes possible a state of calm and inner readiness conducive to the greatest possible concentration. The total dedication of one's attention and of all one's spiritual forces to the religious or aesthetic experience at hand leads in turn to self-identification with that which is evoked by that experience. In music, it is the ideal world of the great masters with which one identifies oneself; or, in general, one seeks to become one and enter into a mystic union with something higher. In both cases a corollary of this *unio mystica* is the disappearance of the sense of self,

the feeling of being lifted above and beyond one's personal, everyday concerns. This state of utter dedication culminates, in religious experience, in ecstasy, described by the mystical poet Angelus Silesius in the lines:

*Je mehr du dich aus dir kannst austun und entgiessen,
Je mehr muss Gott in dich mit seiner Gottheit fliessen.*

(The more thyself thou canst surrender and put from thee,
The more with His own Godhead must the Lord inform thee.)

In artistic experience of a receptive nature this extreme degree of self-effacement and integration with the object of contemplation is never attained, or even approached. Yet moments of ecstasy are not unknown to the listener to music; under the spell of overwhelming musical impressions a degree of concentration is sometimes reached where every bodily sensation, indeed the sense of space itself, disappears. (It need hardly be mentioned that such a state of mind, induced by music, may be the prelude to religious ecstasy, and that the latter may be intensified by music.)

To draw a final parallel between the two realms: the love of music, as well as religious conviction, gives rise to sects. One need only think of the cults of Mozart, Handel, Brahms, or Mahler, or of the Bayreuth pilgrims, who listen to every tone of their idol with the same unquestioning worship that the believer accords to the words of his particular gospel.

Apart from all the intolerance and snobbism associated with this musical sectarianism, such congregations of the faithful are not without value for the general musical public. Community of musical experience heightens its intensity, particularly when it takes the form of active participation, as in a chorus or similar organization. The power of an idea carries many along who could not support themselves, musically speaking.

The bond of collective artistic life which ties together like-minded people in such a group unites them not only with one another, but also with the spirit of the genius whom they honor. This factor of exaltation gives the collective experience of music—active as well as passive—a religious character, in the original sense of the word religious: connected with something higher.

The mystical experience of losing oneself in a musical masterpiece is one of the most beautiful and ethically most worth-while

that man can have. And this experience is open not only to professional musicians and the musically educated, but to every person who is musical in the sense we have indicated—that is, who is capable of receiving musical impressions. In fact, the naïve listener has in some ways the advantage over the trained musician with his special knowledge. The educated taste of the latter too often makes him conscious of a disparity between the work and its performance, disturbing the communion between the creative and the receptive personalities. It takes an unusually favorable combination of circumstances to permit the trained musician (particularly the performing artist) to attain that degree of absorption and self-forgetfulness to which the listener unhindered by conscious knowledge of the techniques involved has far more frequent access. For the naïve listener is interested in the music; he lays little stress upon the details of the performance. But once the trained musician's attention is caught by the performance, the latter must be not only flawless—it must be irresistible, in order not to weaken his contact with the work, but rather to reinforce it. Since, however, perfect performances are few and far between, his enjoyment too often remains imperfect. And, although the trained musician may be able to hear a musical work with his inner ear, according to his own conception of it, by reading the score, yet many a one longs to regain that direct and immediate receptivity that made his early musical impressions unforgettably vivid.

There is, however, one limitation for the musical layman, although of a different sort. This arises from the fact that the musical language of certain periods in the history of our culture—such as the Renaissance, or the Baroque—is not immediately understandable to the listener who is unfamiliar with it. He must familiarize himself with its style through repeated hearings or playings in order to penetrate to its essence and experience it emotionally. Strangely enough, here the path to musical enjoyment leads through intellectual understanding to spontaneous emotional comprehension, whereas in any style of music with which the listener is more familiar the contrary is the case.

In the relation of the music-lover to contemporary music, similar difficulties exist, except that in approaching old music one must acquire the feeling for a tradition, while with modern music one must shake off the habit of expecting traditional forms of ex-

pression. In old music, and particularly in works in polyphonic style, it is mainly the arrangement and combination of musical *patterns* that at first offers obstacles to complete understanding. In the music of today, this difficulty is increased by the different treatment of the very elements of music out of which *patterns* are formed. In many modern works, freedom from the habitual key relations makes particularly heavy demands on the adaptability of the listener. This is especially true in atonal compositions, in which the listener who is used to clear tonal relations is completely lost. The *transforming mechanism* hypothecated at the beginning of this discussion, which converts sensory impressions into related musical ideas, seems here unable to function, as it would be with Chinese or other exotic music representing a world of feeling quite foreign to the listener. If this inability were permanent, then everything that has been said in this article about the essential features of musicality would fall to the ground. But since experience shows us that this mechanism can be made to function again, through the accustoming of the ear to new combinations and the broadening of one's receptivity to musical experience, it follows simply that the concept of musicality itself is an extraordinarily flexible and relative one.

That the concept is in fact relative and flexible in the highest degree is a truism, and for that reason the word musicality has a somewhat indefinite meaning. It is used quite arbitrarily and illogically. Now it is used for the possession of latent musical gifts; now it refers to demonstrated attainments. A child is called musical if it always stops to listen attentively when music is to be heard. In this case, only a natural inclination is meant. On the other hand, one hears it said, in comparing the performance of two pianists, that one of them has a better technique, but the other plays "more musically". This implies a judgment of both innate abilities and attainments, and a judgment of a quite subjective order. The person passing such a judgment is rarely conscious of what qualities in the performance formed his opinion. Perhaps it is the stimulating rhythm or the expressive phrasing of the one, and a certain dryness or mannerism in the playing of the other that has caused the impression that A is "more musical" than B. There may be another quality, however, which distinguishes the playing of one

from the other, even though it is hard to describe in words. At bottom this is nothing else than the relative capacity for musical experience of the two players, as reflected in their playing and felt by the person passing the judgment. We say "felt" because this quality usually affects the judgment without being consciously recognized as the determining factor. But the failure to recognize it involves the danger of losing sight of a quality that is intimately bound up with the very essence of musicality.

The word *musical* is often used also in the sense of "gifted"—and both terms are made less clear thereby. And both are usually too narrowly construed, in that hearing, memory, and the mechanical ability to reproduce are taken as the gauges. That is because most people are accustomed to confine their inquiry to what can be seen, heard, and measured, and be satisfied with that. They forget to inquire into what lies at the basis of the visible or audible phenomena. This sluggishness of thought is responsible for the uncertainty and misunderstanding that beclouds many concepts which embrace phenomena in both the sensuous and spiritual realms, and not least that of musicality.

It is not only among laymen that confusion exists regarding this term, but among specialists and in their literature as well. Not one of the many definitions of the word musicality is thoroughly satisfactory. The most common misconception, here too, is the setting upon the same level of the elementary factors of musicality (hearing, memory, etc.) with their results. It is a mistake to assume that the whole of musicality is no more than the sum of its externally verifiable parts. For to these an essential addition must be made—the personal and scientifically imponderable capacity for musical experience. Granted that any analysis of this factor presents great and perhaps insuperable difficulties. But that is no reason to exclude it from consideration. And any definition which does exclude it is bound to be incomplete. We must reconcile ourselves to the idea that there are psychological truths which we simply cannot reduce to formulas. It would be better to give up all claim to an exact definition than to accept a distorting simplification of complicated inner processes. I am far from underestimating the practical results of experimental research in the fields of musical psychology and pedagogy. But I believe that the familiar tests

and statistics do not and cannot do justice to the true nature of musicality. They always leave a certain remainder of the problem untouched, and that remainder, which is nothing but the capacity for musical experience, is in my opinion the most important element.

How has it come about that everything that has to do with emotional affectibility has been and still is neglected in the inquiry into the nature of musicality? This question leads us back to our central thesis.

The fact that artistic inspiration (like religious inspiration)—and particularly that mysterious part of it which has to do with the “invention” of material—is a mystical experience is evidenced by the testimony of all great creative artists, and accordingly acknowledged even by the materialists. But that the complete identification of the hearer with what he hears is also a mystical experience, has, so far as I know, not been sufficiently emphasized, and so is not generally recognized.

The capacity for musical experience is ordinarily valued only when it manifests itself in creative or re-creative achievements. But when it remains hidden in the inner psychical life of the individual—as in the music-listener—most psychologists and aestheticians who interest themselves in the question of musicality do not pay enough attention to this factor. Thus neither the aesthetic nor the affective components of the process of musical enjoyment have been adequately examined. The research methods of the psychology of consciousness do not reach either the higher spheres of the imagination and the spirit or those deeper strata of the unconscious and subconscious to which music speaks. And although the methods of those who probe the subconscious come closer to reaching the levels of musical experience, they have not yet thrown adequate light on that complex process.⁵

⁵This is a fresh field of inquiry. Why not, therefore, enlist fresh forces? The music teacher trained in psychology, for example, could do a great deal of useful work along these lines. His task would be principally to collect data on the basis of both self-observation and the observation of others. In the constant personal contact that takes place in musical instruction, the music teacher may achieve an intimate insight into the musical experiences of his pupils—experiences which cannot be completely examined by means of questionnaires. There is relevant material scattered through various journals of musical education. This material should be amplified, collected, and systematized so as to be readily available.

In the process of inquiry into the nature of the capacity for musical experience, appropriate methods of research would be developed. Then, and only then, would it be scientifically established that the mysterious capacity for direct, intense, sympathetic emotional experience of music is the essential element of genuine musicality.

(Translated by Arthur Mendel)

WILLIAM WALTON

By HUBERT J. FOSS

THE WAY of the prophet is hard. Should he risk his reputation on foretelling a future only a short time ahead, he will be found out in his lifetime; a longer survey may bring him equally an exaggerated fame before he dies, and the fame of derision, or even mere oblivion, after his death.

A similar path of thorns and jungle besets the writer who attempts to appraise the music of a living composer. Though no intentional prophet, he must in the very nature of his task essay the prophetic rôle, balancing the present importance of a major figure of one day with the future importance, on another day, of what may then seem to be a minor figure. Perhaps the puppet-composer may be due for re-enlargement to life size or more, as Bach was when Mendelssohn re-discovered him for England, but yet he may deserve the microscopic obscurity of a short entry in an overfull encyclopedia.

Discussion of a living composer, if less dangerous than prophecy, has some kinship with shooting at a moving target. Pin him down with your spear of evaluation as you will, the composer instantly writes something new, better or worse than you could have thought, and you stand self-condemned (if anyone remembers what you have written, or by whom it was written). There is something impertinent also, it may be even discouraging to his art, about too close a scrutiny in the public print of a man's current work. At its best, like a major operation, it is a professional job that has to be done. But it is like getting impatient while occupying yourself in watching a seed growing, or like disturbing a cook just as she is tossing a pancake because you are sure it isn't going to be good.

William Walton in his latest work, the Violin Concerto, has provided his critical surveyors with a welcome resting-place, a haven gladly reached by those of unprophetic mind who have watched his composing career closely. For here Walton has given us a considerable piece of music which obviously is the rounding

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William Walton

Foxfoot 'Old Si Faulk'

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(By Courtesy of the Oxford University Press)

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off of a period. To qualify for such a description, it is not required of a work that it should actually have ended a period, nor even that the next work in order be different in style or manner from its forerunners.

The Violin Concerto, its première given by Jascha Heifetz with the Cleveland Symphony Orchestra under Artur Rodzinski on December 7th, 1939, rounds off a period only because it is the clearest, fullest, and most characteristic statement of a musical style that has been now developing before our public eyes for some eighteen or more years. This is *echt*-Walton. In the three movements of the Concerto are summed up the elements from which, in other forms, have been distilled the romance, the brilliance, the satire, of his earlier works. This Concerto could not have been written by any but the man who had already written the Viola Concerto; yet it is as obviously later than the Symphony as it is later than "Portsmouth Point". We, his hearers, cannot be more than appreciators, advanced even to analyzers. We could not deduce any one of Walton's works from the Concerto—nor the Concerto from the whole company of his works. Only can we find affinities, similarities, that make up into a consistent style, here shown at its fullest. And we can rather helplessly add that the very quality of expectedness in this Concerto is perhaps the most unexpected quality it possesses. Here, for once, is a very convenient composer. We may look to his past and his present and not concern ourselves with his future. We need not attempt to guess what his next work will be: I, who know something of his private plans, am content, and justified in my contentment, not to bother to consider them in surveying his achievement today. I gladly enter the garden of rest that he offers, and thank him for his quite unconscious artistic kindness.

For a man still under forty, Walton has produced a moderate but not a large quantity of music. His, indeed, is a mere hatful of works in comparison with those which Purcell, Mozart, and Schubert had written during a similar span. The prolific-flowering musical invention is sometimes taken to be synonymous with invention of the first order, and that is neither logical nor true. Instead therefore of a chain of opus numbers rolling onwards towards three figures with an imposing respectability, we have before us a far smaller field to survey: a symphony (which the ignorant still

persist in calling Symphony No. 1, a presumptuous title entirely remote from the composer's attitude of mind), three concertos (one a *sinfonia concertante*), two chamber works (one unpublished), an overture, two suites (in orchestral versions as well as in various other forms), two choral works, a pastiche for small orchestra, and a coronation march. There are also a few songs and part songs.

To understand the apparent hesitance of Walton's utterance is to understand partly the age he lives in and partly the composer himself. The interval between two major wars during which Walton's first productive period has lain, fertile though it has proved to be in creative art, has been no time for the grinding out of stereotyped music in stereotyped formulas. To any one of deep feeling and thought, it has been at once a period of recovery from a high nervous strain and of fearful apprehension how soon the inevitable result would fall as a new blow to civilization. Further than this, Walton seems to have gone through his apprenticeship as a composer at the time of life when most young fellows are thought to be advanced if they are studying three-part academic counterpoint. He sprang into the arena with the *Façade* Entertainment in 1923, a fully fledged composer, who could orchestrate a great deal better with far fewer instruments than most of the professors who would, in any normal course of education, have been paid to teach him. Here was accomplished stuff indeed, well wrought, full of style, parodistic when it chose, bubbling with humor, and beautifully written. But it wasn't the anthem, the part-song, or easy piano piece on which many young composers cut their teeth, nor was it the romance for violin and piano, the tone poem about youth, or any of that other collection.

Walton does not write short pieces for bread and butter or for widening his fame among the smaller members of the musical profession.

He does not sell his sketches. Rather, not being a miniaturist, he needs an area of large ratios. He prepares to make a big work on a big canvas, and sacrifices everything to that work until he is quite certain that he has placed the details in the right proportion—I put it thus, for he does not attend to the details at all until the main proportions of the form are satisfactory to him. Some other

music he writes as an outlet for a musical invention that may not square with the work he has then on hand; for example, he writes a certain amount of music for "talkies", notably for those which have been made with Miss Elizabeth Bergner: he is now about to make a score for the film of Shaw's "Major Barbara". As a composer Walton orders his life with a strong intellectual grip; to an extent he seems to regard his composer-self as an objective being to be organized into a producer of music which will satisfy his other personality. There is nothing haphazard about his composing; no dashing off a little piece in a moment of heated genius. Both life itself, and the composing of music, are too closely real to this finely-wrought mind for such nonsense.

What indeed may be rightly held cause for wonder is that a composer should have attained such an indubitable position of eminence among the composers of the whole world when he uncompromisingly offers them some thirteen works, of which one is playable as yet only by one soloist, one is never performed, and at least three others heard very seldom. It is hardly too much to say that today Walton's international fame rests mainly upon the pillars of the Symphony, the Viola Concerto, *Façade*, and "Belshazzar's Feast". From this fact flows the argument that though Walton has never had the inclination to pour out a cornucopia of half-ripe "major works", each work that he has signed upon its issue has been of an importance commensurate with its size, a complete artistic achievement, a wholly satisfactory piece of music, both for the composer and for the listener.

An extraordinary number of promising musical characteristics emerged, along with the distinctly odd and somewhat exiguous sounds, from the mouth of the megaphone at that original *Façade* Entertainment: strange little propensities, embryonic opinions about musical texture, likes for this and avoidances of that. It would have taken more than a prophet, given heaven-sent powers and the imagination of a poet, to have foretold from these seeds of music the luxuriant foliage that was to come. Let it be remembered that the original *Façade* music did not stand up for judgment on its own legs: it was a supporting medium for the verses of Miss Edith Sitwell, which were rhythmically spoken above the music

through a megaphone, which protruded through a curtain hiding

alike speaker and instrumentalist. There were five of the latter, playing flute, clarinet, saxophone, 'cello, and percussion, and the original speaker was Mr. Constant Lambert.

One first impression this music made was that it was not informed wholly by an Anglo-Saxon culture. The music was conceived from an untraditional angle. This is not to imply that Walton's music is un-English. The streak of Roman Catholic emotionalism in Elgar does not make him less national a composer than Parry or Vaughan Williams. Evidence of strong English culture there is: "Portsmouth Point" is as indigenous as Rowlandson's print, and no student of "Belshazzar's Feast" could miss the marks imprinted thereon by the great choral tradition of the English Cathedral school—the opening and closing sections especially are the work of a man brought up on Cathedral polyphony. Yet, many colors from other, more southern sun-rays are focussed on to the music, and are still so today—for example the *valse* interlude in the Violin Concerto is equally foreign with the fanfare opening of the last movement of the *Sinfonia Concertante*. There is less flavor in this music "tasting of Flora and the country-green" than there is of "dance, and Provençal song, and sunburnt mirth!" It is indeed "a beaker full of the warm south! full of the true, the blushful Hippocrene."

The music of the two *Façade* suites as we know them now in their brilliant orchestral dress is substantially the same as that of the separate pieces bearing the same names in the Entertainment. In actual fact, there is more music in the Entertainment, some of which shows that streak of romantic invention of melody which has developed so much in Walton, especially of later years. "The Man from the Far Countree" comes to my mind.

This romantic spirit manifests itself at its freshest and most youthful in the early Piano Quartet, which though published under a Carnegie award has remained strangely neglected, until its recent recording by the Decca Company. What an outpouring splashes over us here! Written when the composer was reaching eighteen, it has undergone but slight revision, when he was twenty-two and again recently, in registration only. The music fully justifies itself: it is delightfully enjoyable, but it is not of course the Walton we know today, the Walton who counts

among his major qualities the musical and formal control of his sweeping emotions.

What in *Façade* is not to be classed as romantic may be called "characteristic". For, individual as this music is, much of it is deliberately written in an adopted manner; it speaks with a consciously feigned accent. There is less of parody in this adoption of different manners than of "stylism". The *Rhapsodie espagnole* of Ravel is neither satiric nor humorous, and many other examples from the Italian Concerto to the *Alla Tedesca* could be quoted by other composers without thought of caricature.

The permanent interest in this stylistic, almost *pointillist* method of Walton's in *Façade* lies in the swiftness with which he is able to crystallize the style in each piece. Seizing the important points in one grasp of his mind, he writes his own music, in that manner, but with an evident sense of style. Let us not get ankle-deep in the bog of discussion about style. That Walton has "style" is indisputable; and I wish to relate his style to his stylistic abilities only because I believe that out of the latter he has developed the former, mostly by being the most severe critic of his own style.

For this is where I find Walton different from the majority of composers whom it has been my good fortune to know. He has a searchingly accurate judgment of the weight and value of his own inventions. He knows precisely whether that passage is right, just there, or wrong, and if he does not know he probes till he finds out, and if it is wrong in his opinion, he is quite ready to go on writing until he at last finds the right passage. He seldom makes a hair's breadth's mistake in the assessment of his music as he writes it. A sense of shape, of temporal design, that it is very hard to appease, is often at war with a mere capacity to invent sounds: the critical sense of style may make peace terms, but the sense of form never loses the battle. Hence there is little of useless merely good-sounding music in Walton's works: hence each work finds an artistic integrity on its own scale.

Walton, from being an artist in styles, has become an artist in moods. He constructs emotionally. You will find never a trace of anti-climax in Walton's works.

This artistry in moods is but one example of the fine aristocratic eclecticism which colors all Walton's music. Walton is not

only master of his sounds and of their combination: he chooses, with the delicate air of an expert in precious stones, those of his store of jewels which will show best in this setting or another. His power of selection, coupled with his sense of styles is evidenced in his orchestration as well as in the texture of his music. The *Façade* Entertainment showed a mind capable of thinking instrumentally, and this mind has developed towards mastery of the orchestra. The Symphony, loud though it sounds, uses no more than a Brahms orchestra, until the last movement demands the heavy drums. *Siesta* on the one hand needs but a small group of instruments: on the other "Belshazzar's Feast", besides the usual requirements, asks for two extra brass bands to enhance the gilded splendor of the barbarian feast. The texture of his music sounds always rich and colorful, but, in fact, the full scores show that on the whole the effects are achieved without elaboration, that indeed the colors are used with great purity, so that on the closer view the eye is not confounded with details run together, nor at the proper distance is the ear dulled by cloying sounds or bare uncouth noises. Part indeed of the brilliance is produced by Walton's having no distaste or fear for the common orchestral tricks in their right place, and, always, he makes his high lights shine out like a beacon and his shadowy backgrounds dark but full of an obscure luminosity. One is tempted to quote at length: resisting that, I refer to the sound of the unaccompanied voices after the trumpet at the opening of "Belshazzar", the two unaccompanied thirds for the solo violin towards the end of the first movement of the Violin Concerto, the re-entry of the viola solo in the coda of the finale of the Viola Concerto.

There is no random statement in saying that Walton thinks orchestrally: in composing he makes first a short score of the music in its continuity, but it is not until he orchestrates the work that it takes its final shape, becomes really what he finally means. Predilection for the orchestra does not extend itself in all composers' works to the soloist's part in a concerto; more rarely still does it to the accompaniment of that part. Walton treats his soloists with love, even the pianist in the *Sinfonia Concertante* (see for example the second section of the first movement and the whole of the slow movement of this work). The Viola Concerto is indeed a solo for viola, satisfactory both technically and as an exposition of

the soul and meaning of the instrument, while the Violin Concerto has already earned the reputation of being of virtuoso difficulty, skilfully enough written for the instrument to challenge the credulity of critics who know Walton to be no great fiddler himself. Yet no one could call this last Concerto a show piece, dominated by the desire for display of one player against many. It is rather a quiet and contemplative piece of music wherein the violin leads the other players into an ecstatic world of musical thought. The Concerto with Walton is more symphonic, more abstract in conception, than with many composers.

One factor in the making of a musical texture at once interesting and unelaborate is the vitality of the rhythm that keeps the inward parts moving. Rhythmically, Walton is a strong individualist. Even at his most complicated, for example in "Portsmouth Point", there is not a trace of the arithmetical working out of 3's, 7's, and 15's, or some such formula, against each other. That Walton has learnt from jazz, one does not need to adduce his rhythmic vitality to prove: it is mirrored in a dozen minor points. Nevertheless, even in the simplest exposition of a basic theme, there is frequently a rhythmic unexpectedness which, awkward looking as it may be in notation on paper, sounds as simple and natural as possible, only with an indefinable lift about it, raising it from the ground into the more tractable medium of the air. Observe too how often Walton's development of his themes depends on the alteration of their rhythmic structure. The first movement of the Symphony is largely built on the imperative repetition of the first subject, but hardly twice does it appear the same in accent or meter, nor does the second group of subjects of the same movement. In the first movement of the Violin Concerto, the first subject, after augmentation, is diminished into a mere accompanimental figure, as indeed the first subject of the last movement of the Viola Concerto is transmuted into a consistent bass for the soloist's reminiscences.

Walton then frequently presents his apparently simple material in a purely personal manner of rhythm—beat-rhythm and bar-rhythm too, for Walton is adept at knowing the exact right length of an introduction, an ending, a cadenza, or the bridge from a close to a new opening. In addition he keeps his rhythms fluid in all parts of the orchestra. There is not space here to go into the elaborate

and rhythmic patterns of the scherzi, though they are worth study, but it is proper to observe here that apart from all interplay of varying rhythmic versions of main subjects, Walton has a habit of suddenly introducing a new rhythmic phrase, which he baldly states, and that such phrases are nearly always in a kind of "catch" rhythm of their own. Three examples can be found in the Second Movement of the Viola Concerto, the Scherzo of the Symphony, and the Finale of the Violin Concerto.

The effect is nearly always electric, a clean statement with an unusual pulse succeeding a jumble of exciting cross-rhythms.

Unless all the music is lying before both reader and writer, the task of analyzing a composer's musical idiom is a difficult and profitless undertaking for both. Walton has mannerisms no less than Elgar before him, or Beethoven, Mozart, and Purcell before that. That little rising phrase of semiquavers in the tenor part, the sudden dramatic unisons, the liking for the semitone (or its opposite, the major seventh)—these are but one or two marks left by the impress of the composer's hand on his score. The corpus of music which by this year of 1940 Walton has produced shows us something far more personal, far less tangible, than characteristic tricks of the pen, or of the musical invention.

I have spent many long hours of thought in an endeavor to discover with some exactitude what it is in Walton's music that has, for me at any rate (and it would appear, from his wide public, for many others as well), such an overpowering attraction—where lies the compulsion in it that draws my soul as to an object akin, of what kind is the very reasonableness of this music that so immediately satisfies me when much other music, analyzable as equally admirable, does not. In the higher imaginative flights of musical criticism, I am, I fear, no soaring competitor. I am incapable of the soul-searching superlatives that alone can describe those moments when the heavens opened, and such like rare musical events; and I am unversed in the comparison of one passage of "sublime genius" against a second passage of, say, "exquisite self-revelation". On the other hand I am acutely aware, from the practice of some of them myself, that all the arts are concerned with fabrication—that art is a made thing. It is fashioned by the skill of the craftsman, in such a way as to create a direct impression on the senses of those looking, or listening, or reading. As an art, music lives only in the

impact on the ear-drum. Music, as we hear it, does none of the romantic things of fiction: it does not well up in the soul, pour forth from the heart, gush out of every pore, or do anything similarly fantastic with the human anatomy. Into the making of music has to go a great deal of hard musical work, clean honest thinking, and practical imaginativeness. I am also aware that it takes a man of ability and not only of integrity to be honest: he must be capable, as well as willing and guided by instinct, of discovering the truth. And I can say, to begin with, that I am equally certain of Walton's ability and integrity, and that having watched him at work over a number of years, I am convinced of his artistic honesty and sanity.

There is more, of course. I confess that the quality of Walton's lyrical invention overcomes me emotionally in a way that is quite exceptional. I do not find myself tiring of his lyrical romanticism. There is in him, as there was in Charles Martin Loeffler, for whose music I had both profound admiration and love, some Keatsian beauty, some sense of "old unhappy far-off things and battles long ago". I can overhear human misery singing itself to rest down the ages when I hear a melody like that of the Slow Movement of the Symphony. Not only in the discomfiture of Belshazzar, but elsewhere in Walton, do I feel what Shelley felt with his "traveller from an antique land"—"my name is Ozymandias, King of Kings, Look on my works, ye mighty, and despair"—spoken amid the barren sands. I think Walton touches us all with his own humanity. There is at once a friendliness in this music and an oracular vision that comprehends but stands above sympathy.

What else do I like? I certainly like the sounding brass and the tinkling cymbals, the splendor which he can suddenly evoke, with a sense of purple and gold more luminous and magnificent than mere eye-colors. I like, in this as in his soft passages, his certainty of touch. I like the way in which at times he caresses and gently handles his own ideas,—

musing upon them,
Like a mother who
Has watched her children all the long day through,
Sits quiet-handed in the fading light,
When children sleep ere night.

I like too the humor, the range of emotions, from "Popular Song" in *Façade*, through the pastiche of *Siesta's* last section, to the strid-

ency of the Symphony and the hidden peace of the Viola Concerto. Here is variety in small space; here is a philosopher who is never verbose. I like the long melodies, and in particular their natural instinct to rise, to soar above the topmost that one would have dared place them at this or that moment. I like the simplicity that lies aback of the elaborate smith-work in this delicate tracery of music. Finally I like this music's swift and direct speech—that is the first secret of its general appeal, its romanticism and its friendliness coming next.

Criticism of the kind which Mr. Ernest Newman has on occasion called "the sensitised plate" type can have no pretensions to relationship with the absolute. Permanent values are not its concern; basic principles of art, whether of this age's fashion of philosophy or another's, it may ignore. The times are dangerous to our Western European civilization, threatening to remove the ground from under the feet of our culture. I repeat, I am content, and feel justified in my contentment, to receive William Walton's offering of music as an enhancement, a glorification of the life of peace, when beauty is sought for its benefit to mankind. It has come out of a period of much distress. It remains, solid and unbroken—we do not know for how long—as a portion of our lives which, though it lie outside our normal experience, is for one, at least, more important and vital than the hundred seeming essentials of existence. I gratefully accept his gift.

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JOHANN SEBASTIAN BACH'S LAST COMPOSITION¹

The Chorale-Prelude *Vor deinen Thron tret' ich hiemit*

By HERMANN SCHERCHEN

THE SECRET of artistic creation was never more strikingly exemplified than in the so-called final chorale of "The Art of the Fugue". When Bach conceived this musical miracle, his senses were already half extinguished: out of his blindness he dictated it to his son-in-law, Altnikol. Beauty, expression, spirit, intellect—the components of the perfect art-work reward our contemplation of this masterpiece. The euphony of the four-part writing is a treat to the senses; the periodically interpolated chorale phrases are like beams of light to the spirit; the proportions and inner relations of the work produce a feeling of completest freedom. Whether one plays this music for string quartet, on the organ, or with four wind instruments, the wonder of it remains the same; it seems the very self-revelation of Music. A similar miracle took place once more a hundred and fifty years after Bach's death, when Giuseppe Verdi, upon the *Scala Enigmatica*, wrote the *Ave Maria* of his *Quattro Pezzi Sacri*.



To Bach's contemporaries, not only the chorale melody but the text and mood that went with it were thoroughly familiar. Thus the composer dealt in symbols well-known to all his listeners. By making use of a song of praise to God, a chorale that sang of death, or a song of defiance, he put his hearers into one mood or another. But there was still room for creative fancy to erect, on such firm foundations, the most personal and individual melodic structures.

¹ The July 1933 issue of *The Musical Quarterly* contained another article on this work (not, like the present study, of a style-analytical nature) by the late Charles Sanford Terry. The piece is printed complete on pp. 479-82 *infra*.

A chorale-prelude is a sort of sermon on a text: one meditation on a phrase follows another until the *cantus firmus* has completed the whole chorale. No technique could serve this purpose better than that of imitative counterpoint. *Vor deinen Thron tret' ich hiemit* ("Before Thy throne I now appear") read the words with which the intonation of the tenor begins. They draw the listener into the atmosphere of the song of death, of which the last line is a prayer: *Ein selig Ende mir bescher'* ("A blessed end O grant Thou me"). What untold solace was in these words, so sure to be understood by all hearers! What comfort for the listener in the atmosphere conjured up by the words of the chorale! Thus the chorale achieves the finest shades of meaning, without the ear's losing itself in abstractions; thus expression and intellect work together to penetrate our being and enwrap our souls in the poignant euphonies of this four-voiced web of sound.

To reveal the true secret of the piece, let it be entrusted to human voices: a carefully chosen mixed chorus, humming *pianissimo* with delicate head voice. No nuances are necessary, nor any "interpretative" articulations of phrasing; the texture of the voices will be of a dream-like transparency, and the effect like what Goethe described in 1827: *Dass man weder Ohren, am wenigsten Augen und wieder keine übrigen Sinne zu besitzen noch zu brauchen scheine*. ("One seems to possess neither ears nor eyes nor any other sense organs, and to need none.")

Especially important is the tempo, of which the limits are set by the necessity of making the sense of the whole melody clear as an entity. The tempo must suit two elements: the opening melody in the tenor voice:

Ex. 1



and the chorale phrase from which it comes:

Ex. 2



The tempo that fits them both is $\text{♩} = 72$ M. M. At this pace it is still just possible to think of the eighth-notes in pairs, and to con-

ceive the one-and-a-half-measure tenor motive as a unit. At the same time, the *cantus firmus* does not break up into separate, unrelated tones.

This tempo, arrived at through both theoretical and practical experiments, is the human norm that corresponds to the medieval *integer valor*, according to which there are 72 heartbeats and 18 deep breaths to the minute. This means that each $\frac{3}{8}$ measure of the chorale corresponds to one deep breath, in and out, such as the body takes during profound sleep. And this complete relaxation, in turn, reminds us of the bodily exhaustion of the blind Bach at death's door. Thus we suddenly realize, almost physically, how the perfect equilibrium of this chorale-prelude, far above the concerns of this world, came about, and how out of that exhausted old frame, almost ready to return to the dust whence it had come, there could proceed the final illumination that shines forth from the orderly arrangements of this work.

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The secret of the euphony of Bach's music lies in the fact that its tonal range remains within vocal limits: the soprano rarely rises above the easily produced g'' , and the bass infrequently descends below the singable E. Within this limited compass the four voices may intertwine freely and naturally. Bach's polyphony knows no holes; and if there are occasional exceptions to this rule, they reflect a conscious purpose.

The forms of the phrase abbreviations are significant:

Ex. 3

Ex. 3 displays four staves of musical notation, labeled a), b), c), and d). Each staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The time signature is 3/8. The notation shows various musical notes, rests, and phrasing marks. Vertical dashed lines connect corresponding notes across the staves, indicating harmonic or melodic relationships. The word "from" is written below the first staff at the beginning of the second measure, and below the third staff at the beginning of the third measure.

Each of these tenor intonations is conjunct throughout, except for the single skip of a third in measure 23. Phrases *a* and *d* have a compass of only a fourth; *b*, the phrase with which the melody moves into action, extends over a fifth; *c*, the most expressive, expands this to an octave. These abbreviations transform the overlong chorale phrases into usable melodic fragments. Everything combines to produce an impression of utmost naturalness, and to bring about a concentration of each of the four partners upon their combined tonal result.

The individualization of the four voices is accomplished by making it possible to hear each of them almost without effort, by means of

rhythmic and melodic resemblances:

Ex. 4



complementary rhythms:

Ex. 5



melodic inversions:

Ex. 6



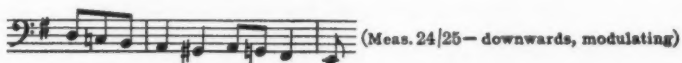
overlapping foreshortenings:

Ex. 7



traversals of similar distances in different directions and in different keys:

Ex. 8



the mosaic-like fitting together of different versions of the same motive:

Ex. 9



and, finally, the relaxation of all tension in the concluding parallel motion:

Ex. 10



In all these passages and in many others, means based on the psychology of hearing serve to make the texture clearly intelligible, so as to produce that feeling of satisfaction which we derive from the comprehension of complex processes combining to create a sensuously pleasing whole.

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This chorale-prelude might serve as a basis for exhaustive studies of such subjects as the relative expressiveness of various intervals, the expressive power of the imitative technique, the relation between emotion and the sections of the gamut employed, the power of melodic construction to suggest definite meaning, and the effects of varying tone colors in creating moods. We shall, however, limit ourselves to a few basic observations.

The Expressiveness of Various Intervals

(1) The normal distance between the voices in two- and three-part writing is the sixth, to which interval the octave contracts and the second expands. The sixth makes possible part-movements and expressive variations in both directions (mm. 2 and 4).

(2) Inversions of intervals produce changes in expression. The upward fourth $g-c'$ (mm. 1-2) produces an expressive tension which would ordinarily result in a feeling of purposefulness, or a *crescendo*. The answer, in the alto, inverts not only the motive, but the flow of energy as well: the downward fourth $g'-d'$ (mm. 2-3) represents a decrease in tension. The quiet tenor in measure 4 makes the entrance of the bass seem an enrichment, but not a complication, of the texture. Clearly, this is the beginning of the second half of the introduction. The second appearance of the inverted motive in the alto (m. 5, third-from-last note) crowds all three voices into a narrower range (m. 6); this not only takes away from the independence of the tenor and bass, but indirectly calls forth the true answer.

(3) Rounded motives are positive in expression when moving stepwise downwards and interrogative when upwards. When they follow one another as *rectus* and *inversus* (e.g., mm. 22-25) they produce contrasts in expression.

The Expressive Power of the Imitative Technique

Imitative repetition of a theme on a new tonal level produces an impression similar to that which one receives when one takes a walk over familiar ground but on a path lying higher or lower than the usual one, and having a different width and contour. One loses at once all one's sense of free and easy security.

Mirror inversion is as if one were asked to stand on one's head. The blood rushes into one's temples, one's breath comes harder, and one must find a new center of equilibrium.

Diminutions and augmentations of a theme are like striding with steps twice as big as usual over a piece of ground that one covers daily in one's own natural tempo, or tripping lightly over it with steps twice as small.

Cancrizans, or the backward movement of the tones of a theme, recalls those changes in gait and posture that would take place if one were required to walk backwards without being allowed to turn to see where one was going.

The Relation Between Emotion and the Musical Gamut

Only once does the compass spanned by the four voices extend to three octaves: in measure 29, at the entrance of the third chorale phrase. Here, too, the melody covers its widest span—a full octave, in scalewise movement. This is the climax of the musical expression, emphasized by the fact that both soprano and bass here reach the extremes of their range for the piece. From this point the four-voice range contracts to its narrowest span—the octave, at the end of the phrase (m. 32, third beat).

At the end of the first chorale phrase, the span was two octaves; at the end of the second, only a twelfth; here it has shrunk to a single octave; and finally, at the last fermata, it returns to its norm—two octaves. Thus the placid emotional curve plotted by the development of the chorale is defined by the central points of the architecture.

Almost symbolic is the settling down of the space arrangement at the end. The flame of the tenor flickers in measures 42-43, while the embers of the motive in the upper voice glow through the moving alto. Out of the empty space, the light of the melody sinks to the level of the bass (mm. 43-44), until at the end the entire texture, from top to bottom, is alive with traces of the motive.

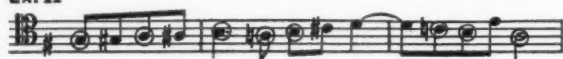
The Power of Melodic Construction to Suggest Definite Meaning

This is most clearly illustrated by the role Bach assigns to the first four tones of the tenor motive (*Vor deinen Thron*). They in-

introduce every chorale phrase except the last (m. 8, alto and tenor; m. 19, the same; m. 29, alto and bass). We find this motive likewise as a bass answer (m. 8); in the tenor (mm. 9-10); in the bass (m. 19); in the alto and bass together (m. 20, in thirds). At the entrance of the third chorale phrase, at the high point of the expression, it is sung by the alto, tenor, and bass in quick succession, while as this phrase ebbs only the rhythm of the motive persists (the thirds of mm. 31-32). The pattern makes its final appearance only after the last chorale phrase has already begun (m. 41, bass and tenor).

Like a secret, the first motive is concealed in the accompaniment of measures 2 to 4:

Ex. 11



takes up the song. But all brightness is extinguished in the stammering imitations of measure 14.

The individual timbres of the voices which rise at the end of the second chorale phrase represent not merely different colors but contrasts of expression as well. And the significant paling of the color of the motive of the tenor entrance in its inversion in the bass (m. 38) seems like the final twilight of all the forces of the individual will to live.

Bach's Use of the Imitative Technique

First Section: Measures 1-7

Overlapping the opening motive is the alto's inversion of it in the octave, the descending steps of which are a weakened version of the purposeful opening in the tenor. This is followed by the answer in the bass (at the fourth below), paired with a corresponding inversion in the alto. This section is thus divided into two equal halves, each three and a half measures long. The beginning of the second half coincides with the greatest expansion of the pitch range and expressive intensity. The over-all range increases to a thirteenth and all three voices achieve complete individualization. But the latter is short-lived, for already in measure 6 the tenor and bass subordinate themselves, in the rôle of accompanying voices, to the melody of the alto, and the expressive force hitherto attained evaporates in the cadence of measure 7.

The tenor motive cites the words *Vor deinen Thron tret' ich hiemit*. For this section the repose of complete submission sets the tone of the expression. External devices are of no value here. All spiritual unrest finds its solution in these quiet melodic contours and this somber tonal register. The inversions in the octave come both times a full measure after the *recti*, so that the chorale phrase has time to speak deeply to the spirit.

Second Section: Measures 11 (sixth eighth-note) to 19 (second quarter) inclusive

Here the entries are closer together (by half), and the pitch interval that separates the first two is only a fourth, instead of an octave as in the first section. Moreover, here there are three instead of two entries. All these things add to the emotional intensity, which is so increased that the first half of this section demands its

own internal cadence (m. 14). It is only in measure 15 that the authentic answer—in the dominant, like that of the bass in measure 4—begins; but this time, in accordance with the increased intensity, it is at the fifth above instead of the fourth below.

The answers in measures 12 and 13 are at the fourth and third, and the inversion in the bass divides the contrasting vocal lines into melody and accompaniment (m. 15). The second section, longer than the first, falls into groups of three-and-a-half and of four-and-a-half measures. The place of the chordal cadence of measure 7 is here taken by the melodic cadence of measures 17-18.

The words that belong to this passage read *O Gott, und Dich demüthig bitt'* ("O God, and to Thee humbly pray"). The meditation becomes somewhat more animated, while only the cadence abbreviations tend to restore the mood of the beginning.

Third Section: Measure 22 (sixth eighth-note)
to Measure 29 (fourth eighth-note)

As in the First Section, the inversions occur a full measure after the *recti*. But this time there are four entries: tenor, alto, bass, and then in measure 25 tenor again. The answers are at the intervals of the fifth, the octave, and the fourth, and thus recall in summary the characteristic intervals of the Second Section. The tenor motive is a complete idea, and lends itself in both inversions to modulations. Within its first two measures this Section modulates into the minor mode. The unit of seven measures, which in the First Section was divided into two equal halves, now consists of one group of five measures and one of two. The tension is not released until the G major of measure 27. The bass entry follows, in the fifth below, but it is at the same time in the octave relation with the tenor inversion of measure 25. The high point now seems to have been attained, and the intensity appears on the decrease.

The words of the chorale verse for this Section are *Wend' dein genädig Angesicht* ("Turn Thy most gracious Countenance"). They lead to the climax of the expression, corresponding to Bach's juxtaposition of, on the one hand, consciousness of self and, on the other, merging of self in God.

Fourth Section: Measure 32 (last quarter) to
Measure 40 (second quarter) inclusive

Instead of the seven measures of the First and Third Sections,

and the eight of the Second, the Fourth lasts seven and three-quarters measures. Its two distinct parts are of five-and-a-quarter and two-and-a-half measures respectively. The tenor motive is this time in the note-values of the chorale phrase itself. There are seven entries in the first part of this Section: tenor, alto, bass, tenor (mm. 34-35), alto, tenor, alto.

The first alto answer is in the fourth above; the bass in the seventh below. Then the tenor enters as the third below its own first entrance, accompanied by the alto at the seventh above, and in close stretto these two voices bring the first part of this Section to a close.

The second part (beginning in measure 38) brings the tenor answer at the fifth, with the alto accompanying a third higher. (The alto stands in the relation of the seventh to the bass.) The final tenor entrance (m. 40) identifies itself with the bass motive by beginning one octave higher. The motive in the two principal voices (mm. 33 and 38) with the final tenor entry make up the pattern: *rectus-inversus-rectus*. The wheel has come full circle and the very process of inversion has brought the theme back into congruence with itself. The tendency of the voices to lose themselves in the theme is shown by the fact that the imitations now occur at the interval of three, and even two, eighths (instead of the four and eight of previous episodes).

The chorale words are: *Von mir betrübtem Sünder nicht*. ("From me sad sinner not away.") The individual achieves complete integration with that which stands above individuals; his finite consciousness flickers out and is replaced by a consciousness of infinite relations.

Where ever was there such a triumph over the body and its weariness? Where has the secret of our mortal passing ever come closer to revelation than in this composition, upon whose origin the *Chronikbüchlein* of Anna Magdalena Bach enlightens us as follows:

Unser lieber Schwiegersohn Christoph [Altnikol] erzählte mir später, dass Sebastian, nachdem er vielleicht eine Stunde lang so still gelegen habe, dass er ihn schlafend geglaubt, sich plötzlich im Bette aufgerichtet und gesagt habe: "Christoph, geh' hole Papier, ich höre Musik in meinem Kopfe, schreib' sie für mich auf".

Eiligt holte Christoph Papier und einen Gänsekiel und ein Tintenfass und schrieb nach Sebastians Diktat. Als er geendet, legte sich Sebastian

mit einem Seufzer nieder, und flüsterte so leise, dass Christoph es eben noch vernehmen konnte: "Das war die letzte Musik, die ich in dieser Welt mache". Und dann schlief er noch einige Stunden, wobei all sein Leiden von ihm abzufallen schien.

(Our dear son-in-law Christoph [Altnikol] told me later that Sebastian, after he had for perhaps an hour lain so still that he seemed asleep, suddenly lifted himself up in bed and said: "Christoph, go and fetch paper. *I hear music in my head; pray write it down for me.*" Quickly Christoph fetched paper, a goosequill, and an inkwell, and wrote according to Sebastian's dictation. When he had finished, Sebastian lay down again, with a sigh, and whispered, so softly that Christoph could only just make out what he was saying: "*That is the last music I shall make in this world*". And then he slept for a few hours more, during which time all his sufferings seemed to fall away from him.)

* * *

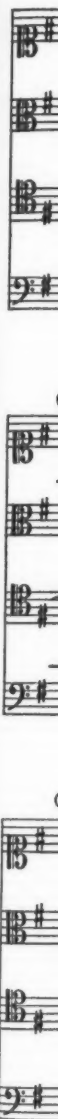
It is no accident that the technique of polyphonic imitation fell into disuse after Bach's death. It was melodically too bold for the spirit of the times. Before it could be taken up again, simpler methods of thematic development, such as those of the symphonic forms, had to be worked out. But the music of the future reaches back to the technique of imitation as to a magic formula. Consider in this respect the works of the twelve-tone school, into which the genius of Arnold Schönberg at the right moment introduced this element.

To seek mere formalism behind this *Lebenswissenschaft* (science of life) is to understand nothing of music.

He who makes use of this technique merely to fill out a desired space of time commits a crime against music; for the contrapuntal technique of imitation reflects and must have its roots in a particular way and view of life.

Bach's chorale-prelude speaks to the body, the mind, and the soul, with a moving directness that can be explained only by the circumstances of its composition. In it we become aware of the creative possibilities that radiate from our human existence. Listening to this music we take part in experiences such as the "realities" of our own lives do not provide for us. We have the momentary loan of faculties which only genius may hold in fee.

(Translated by Arthur Mendel)



Johann Sebastian Bach's Last Composition

479

① ② ③ ④

⑤ ⑥ ⑦ ⑧

⑨ ⑩ ⑪ ⑫

13 14 15 16

Four measures of music in G major (one sharp). The top staff is a soprano line with a treble clef. The second staff is an alto line with a C-clef. The third staff is a tenor line with a C-clef. The bottom staff is a bass line with a bass clef. Measures 13-16 show a melodic progression in the soprano line, with accompaniment in the other staves.

17 18 19

Three measures of music in G major. The soprano line continues the melody, with the alto and tenor lines providing harmonic support. The bass line features a steady eighth-note accompaniment.

20 21 22

Three measures of music in G major. The soprano line has a melodic phrase that ends with a repeat sign. The other staves continue their accompaniment. The piece concludes with a double bar line at the end of measure 22.

23 24 25 26

Measures 23-26 of the musical score. The system consists of four staves. The top staff is a soprano line in G major (one sharp). The second staff is an alto line. The third staff is a tenor line. The bottom staff is a bass line. The music features various rhythmic patterns, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. A bracket is placed under the bottom staff for measures 24 and 25.

27 28 29 30

Measures 27-30 of the musical score. The system consists of four staves. The music continues with similar rhythmic patterns. A bracket is placed under the bottom staff for measures 29 and 30.

31 32 33 34

Measures 31-34 of the musical score. The system consists of four staves. A vertical dotted line is present between measures 32 and 33. A bracket is placed under the bottom staff for measures 33 and 34.

The musical score is presented in three systems, each containing four staves. The key signature is D major (two sharps: F# and C#). The time signature is 4/4. The measures are numbered 35 through 45. The notation includes various rhythmic patterns, such as eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. The score is written for a four-part ensemble, likely voices or instruments.

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CONTRAPUNTAL STYLE IN THE THREE-VOICE SHAPE-NOTE HYMNS¹

By CHARLES SEEGER

GEORGE PULLEN JACKSON² has traced for us the bonds between the tunes of many shape-note hymns and the secular folk-tunes of America. The question at once presents itself: what do the extraordinary settings of these hymns owe to printed sources and what to predominantly oral tradition? ³

I shall consider here only the three-voice choral settings of the type published during the first three-quarters of the 19th century in such famous collections as "Southern Harmony", "Sacred Harp", "Kentucky Harmony", "Harp of Columbia", "Missouri Harmony", "Social Harp", and the like.

These collections present a distinctive style of choral composition. It is not, in any orthodox sense, a harmonic style. The tones sung by the various voices upon any given beat are not conceived of as being fundamentally a unit—a chord. Instead, each voice added to the tune is related to it independently of the relation between the tune and the other added voice. Thus these pieces may be said to show a definitely contrapuntal style.

The melody is given to the tenor or middle voice, and the relation between each of the two added voices is separately considered. John G. McCurry, editor of the "Social Harp",⁴ has explained the process thus:

¹ This paper was read at the annual meeting of the Southeastern Folklore Society, Knoxville, Tennessee, April 4, 1939.

² Jackson, G. P., *Spiritual Folk-Songs of Early America*, New York, 1937. See also the same author's *White Spirituals in the Southern Uplands*, Chapel Hill, N. C., 1933. In his article, "Buckwheat Notes", published in the October 1933 issue of *The Musical Quarterly*, Dr. Jackson described the nature of the shape-note systems.

³ I have asked Dr. Jackson if anyone is investigating this phase of the field in which he is the principal authority, and he tells me that he knows of no one besides myself who has expressed an interest in it. I am, unfortunately, in a position that allows me neither time nor opportunity in which to undertake the necessary research. I am broaching the question here simply because I feel that it is an important one. If, then, as a result of the brief exposition I shall make, some competent student should investigate it, my present objective will have been gained.

⁴ *Social Harp*. Published by S. C. Collins for the proprietor John G. McCurry, Philadelphia, 1868.

... After you have written your tenor, then commence your bass by placing your notes a proper distance from the tenor, and be careful always not to place any note within one degree of the corresponding note in the other part, or within seven degrees, it being within one degree of the octave. Also avoid ninths, as they have the same effect as seconds and sevenths. Any two notes of the same name will make an agreeable sound, you may place notes in unison if you see proper. The intervals that produce harmony (when sounded together) are thirds, fourths, fifths, sixths and eighths, or unison. Those that produce a disagreeable sound are seconds, sevenths and ninths. ... After having written the bass and tenor, commence the treble by observing both parts already written; be careful not to place any note on the next sound to the notes in either part that are already located. ...

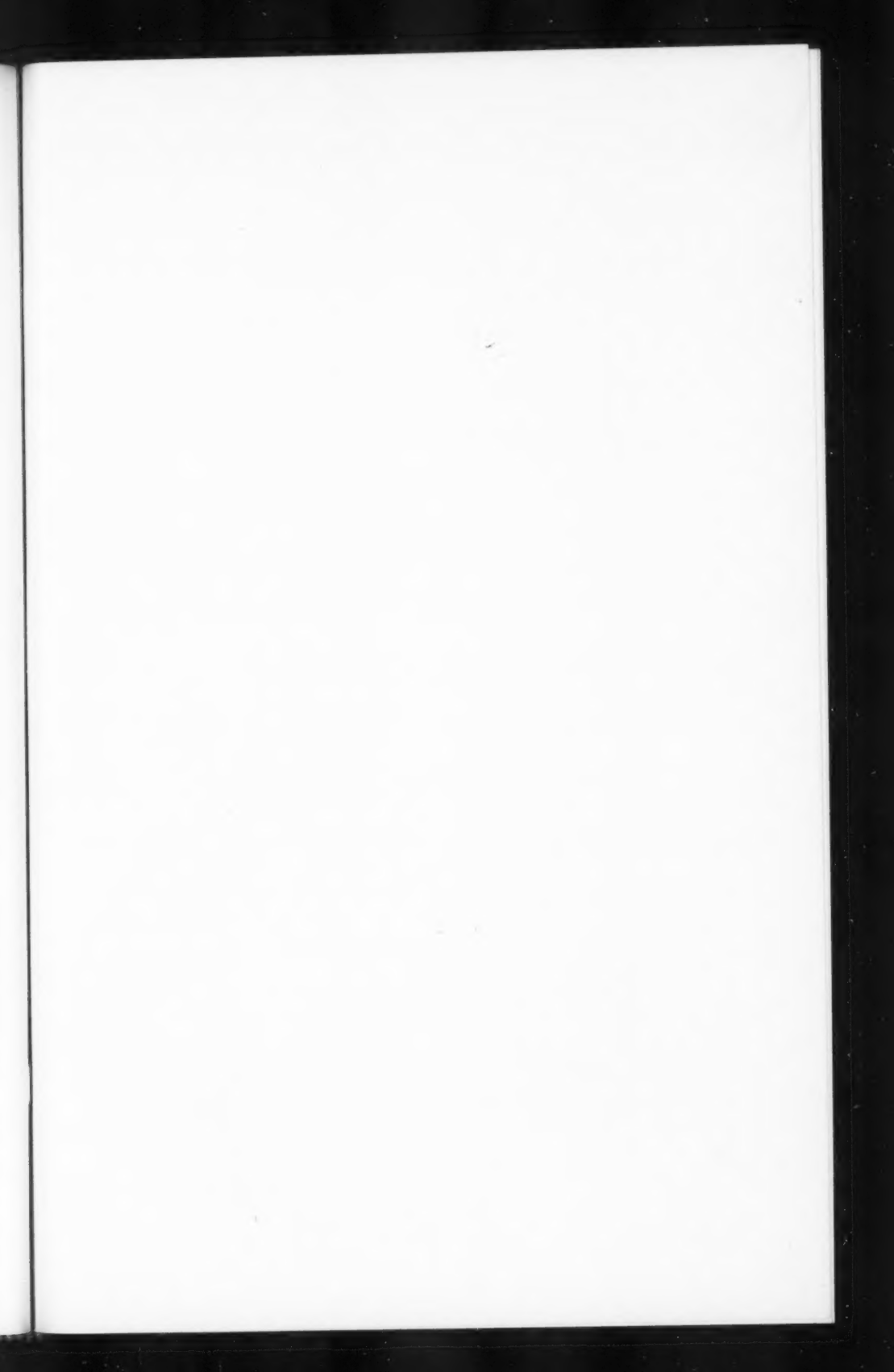
The "vertical" tonal units sometimes form conventional triads. Often, however, one or even two of the three constituents are absent. Or, they take the shape of chords built in fourths or fifths instead of thirds (with resulting intervals that contradict the rules). This is especially noticeable (see Example 1 below) at cadences and semi-cadences, where the final chords tend to dyadic rather than triadic character, omitting a third and often the fifth also.

As might be expected, these tonal units do not function as do chords in ordinary harmonic writing. The process preparation-dissonance-resolution is conspicuously absent. Add to this the fact that women customarily sing any tenor or bass part an octave higher and that men sometimes sing the "tribble" an octave lower, and it will be seen that results which seem very unconventional to us may be achieved.



The employment of only three voices, the setting of the tune in the middle voice, and the strong "horizontal" line of the melodic writing need not, of necessity, produce anything unusual in the way of style. Entirely orthodox music can be written within these limitations. But the style of the three-voice shape-note settings of which I speak are outrageously heterodox, violating such basic and centuries-old prohibitions as those against:

1. parallel fifths, octaves, and unisons
2. parallel fourths between outer voices or between upper voices without a third in the bass



WONDROUS LOVE.

12,9,6,6,12,9.

CHRISTOPHER.

143

What wondrous love is this, oh! my soul! oh! my soul! What wondrous love is this, oh! my soul! What wondrous love is this, oh! my soul!

this! The caused the Lord of bliss, To bear the dread-ful curse for my soul, for my soul, To bear the dread-ful curse for my soul.

"Wondrous Love" as it appears in the *Harp of Columbia*
(Knoxville, Tennessee, 1849)

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Contrapuntal Style in Three-Voice Shape-Note Hymns 485

3. unprepared and unresolved dissonances
4. cadences on $\frac{8}{4}$
5. crossing of voices

Were these violations only occasional, one might easily pass them by. But they are so frequent that they clearly constitute essential elements in the style.

I shall give three examples of this practice. The first is the widely known "Wondrous Love". Jackson quotes the tune as given in "Southern Harmony", "Good Old Songs", "Primitive Baptist Hymnal", and "Olive Leaf". I give a facsimile of it, opposite this page, as it appears in "Harp of Columbia";⁵ in seven "shapes". A signature of two flats is to be understood, since the rectangular note "law" which concludes the bass part is placed upon G. The E-flat in the tenor in measures 6 and 18 is, however, sung as an E-natural. Jackson reports this *musica ficta* as current practice. The Archive of American Folk Song in the Library of Congress has at least two records showing it—one from Virginia, the other from Alabama. I have seen this setting in several different systems of "shapes", but never any other setting of the tune. The editor's directions assure us that the metronome may be set at about $\text{♩} = 96$.

If my blue pencil, rusty these many years, serves me aright, there are here twenty-five parallel fifths, fifteen parallel octaves, and two parallel unisons. When sung with the characteristic nasal voices of the Southern singers and with the numerous but inimitable little slides, trembles, catches, and other ornaments that cannot very well be written down in our system of notation, the effect is one of highly-stylized but admirable performance.

Another good example is "Romish Lady". Jackson quotes the tune from the "Hesperian Harp". I give it in facsimile, opposite p. 486, as it is printed in "Southern Harmony";⁶ in four-shape notation. It appears in other collections—always, in my experience, in the same setting, though in different shapes. The metronome should be set at about $\text{♩} = 60$.

⁵ *Harp of Columbia*, edited by M. L. Swan, Knoxville, Tennessee, 1849. There is a facsimile reprint of the edition of 1867 called the "New Harp of Columbia", Nashville, Tennessee, 1921 (procurable from L. D. Schultz, 1126 Eleanor St., Knoxville, Tenn.).

⁶ *Southern Harmony*, edited by William Walker, Philadelphia c. 1847. There is a facsimile reprint of the edition of 1854 by the Federal Writers Project, Works Progress Administration, New York, 1939.

Plentifully supplied with parallel fifths and octaves, this setting is especially to be marked for its emphasis upon the interval of the fourth. The parallels in measures 1 and 2, 6 and 7, 16 and 17, and the fourth-chord (C-sharp, F-sharp, B) in measures 2, 7, and 17, gives it a peculiar character. The astonishing coincidence of two parallel octaves and two parallel unisons in measures 14 and 15—at a semi-cadence—is not by any means rare.

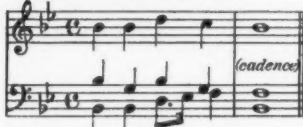
My third example (see the illustration opposite p. 487) is "Parting Friends", from McCurry's "Social Harp". The metronome should be set at about $\text{♩} = 96$.

Also well supplied with parallel octaves, fifths, and fourths, this setting exhibits the not rare cadence on $\frac{8}{4}$, and consecutive $\frac{8}{4}$ chords in measures 3 and 17.

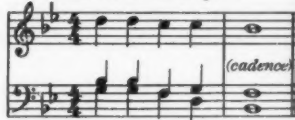
The following excerpts will serve to illustrate some of the other devices employed:

Ex. 1

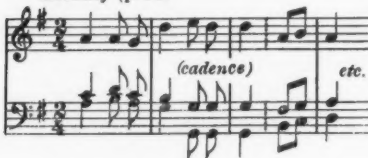
Southern Harmony (1854)
Faithful Soldier (p. 122)



Sacred Harp (1844)
Bound for Canaan (p. 82)



Missouri Harmony (1839)
Morality (p. 54)



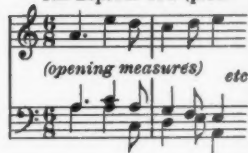
ibid.
Jefferson (p. 55)



ibid.
New Salem (p. 65)



ibid.
The Leprous Jew (p. 60)





"The Romish Lady" as it appears in *Southern Harmony*
Philadelphia, c. 1847

THE ROMISH LADY. 7, 6.

There was a Romish lady brought up in popery, Her mother always taught her the priest she must obey; O pardon me, dear mother, I humbly pray thee now,

8 I'll bow to my dear Jesus, I'll worship God unseen,
 I'll live by faith for ever, the words of man are vain;
 I cannot worship images, nor picture men in clay;
 I can only love your presence, but I cannot see you
 4 With all that great veneration, her mother taught
 did go
 7 Inform the Romish clergy the cause of all her woe;
 The priests were soon assembled, and for the maid did
 call.

And forced her in the dungeon, to fright her soul a trial
 5 The more they strove to fright her, the more she did
 endure.

Although her age was tender, her faith was strong and
 sure.

The chains of gold so costly they from this lady took,
 And she with all her spirit, the prize of life forsook.
 6 Before the pope they brought her, in hopes of her
 return.

And there she was condemned in horrid flames to
 burn.
 Before the place of torment they brought her speedily,
 With lifted hands to heaven, she then agreed to die.
 7 There being many ladies assembled at the place,
 She raised her eyes to heaven, and begged supplying
 grace.

Weep not, ye tender ladies, shed not a tear for me—
 While my poor body's burning, my soul the Lord
 shall see.
 9 Ye women, stand to pity, and Zion's deep decay;
 Dear ladies, turn to Jesus, no longer make delay;
 In comes her raving mother, her daughter to behold,
 And to her hand she brought her pictures deck'd with
 gold.
 9 O take from me these idols, remove them from my
 sight;
 Restore to me my Bible, wherein I take delight.
 Alas, my aged mother, why on my ruin bent?
 10 I was you that did betray me, but I am innocent.
 10 Forasmuch, use your pleasure, and do as you think
 best—
 I hope my blessed Jesus will take my soul to rest.
 And kindled up the fire to stop her mortal breath.
 11 Instead of golden bracelets, with chains they bound
 her fast;
 She cried, "My God give power—now must I die as
 I live!"
 With Jesus and his angels for ever I shall dwell,
 God pardon priest and people, send so I bid farewell!"

For unto these false idols I can no longer bow.

3 Answer'd by her handmaid, a Bible she conceal'd,
 And there she gain'd instruction, till God his love re-
 veal'd;
 No more she pretens'd herself to pictures deck'd with
 gold,
 But soon she was betray'd, and her Bible from her
 stole.

"The Romish Lady" as it appears in *Southern Harmony*

Philadelphia, c. 1847



Farwell, my friends, I'm bound for Ca - naan, I'm trav'ling through the wil - der - ness :
Your com - pa - ny has been do - light - ful, You, who doth leave my mind ad - dressed. }

I go a - way, behind to leave you,



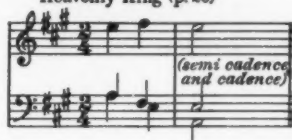
Perhaps never to meet a - gain, But if we never have the pleasure, I hope we'll meet on Canaan's land.



* The Author, when eight years old, learned the air of this tune from Mrs. Catharine Penn.

"Parting Friends" as it appears in McCurry's *Social Harp*
(Philadelphia, 1868)

Social Harp (1868)
Heavenly King (p. 20)



There are those among us, I regret to say, who evidently regard practice of this type as the work of ignorance, error, or, perhaps, lack of musical feeling. It is true, there are typographical errors in the shape-note books. The musical skill and editorial capacity of their compilers varied greatly. Sometimes it was fairly considerable. However, there are, full of academic "mistakes", collections which do not achieve the style of the above quotations. Compare, for instance, the two settings reproduced opposite pp. 488 and 489. The first, "The Babe of Bethlehem" from "Southern Harmony", maintains the high level of craftsmanship for which the collection is justly famous. The second, "Milton", is from the little-known "Knoxville Harmony",⁷ which, as most of its pages show, was not of the grand style.

It may be we are unable to say in many cases whether it was by design or accident that a particular departure from academic procedure has been made. The fact, however, that these settings (excepting, of course, those of the type of "Milton") and others like them appear practically unchanged in edition after edition and are still sung letter-perfect in many localities today, must lead us to accept the printed page as faithfully representing the intentions of the composers and the appreciation of the millions of singers who have sung these songs for a century or more.

Curiously enough, in some books the prefaces (containing "full expositions of the rudiments of music") give rules forbidding parallel fifth and octaves. The same books contain "Wondrous Love" and other settings like it. With our own experience in music-teaching practice in mind, we should, I presume, find it not difficult to account for this seeming paradox.

It is further to be noted that in modern re-editions—even of the most admired originals—the three-voice settings have in most

⁷ *Knoxville Harmony*, Pumpkintown, Tennessee, 1838.

part given way to four-voice treatments. Often as not, this is done by the simple device of adding an alto. According to Jackson, one editor, S. M. Denson, announces⁸ that he has composed 327 alto parts, presumably to improve the old songs and give them additional life.

Other more sophisticated musicians have, strangely enough (for they protest admiration for traditional lore), abandoned entirely the old settings and substituted new voices in the manners of Brahms or Vaughan Williams.

Personally, I would as soon change the tunes as change the settings. For here is true style! There is a rigorous, spare, disciplined beauty in the choral writing that is all the more to be prized for having been conceived in the "backwoods" for which many professional musicians have such scorn, and in the face of the determined opposition of sophisticated zealots in no small number, from Lowell Mason down to those of this very day.

Would it not seem to be a matter of interest, not only to scholars concerned with the study of American culture but also to musicians concerned with the development of the art of music in the New World, to inquire into the origin of this curious musical style, how it developed, and what was and is its function in the total field of music in America?



Obviously, our forefathers brought with them to this continent a fair cross-section of the cultures of their motherlands, including the idioms of art music, popular music, and folk music. There is ample historical evidence that in early days practice of the fine art of music was necessarily curtailed in the colonies, and that the popular art did not flourish extensively. But immigration was continuous, and professional musicians and amateurs of art music and popular music arrived in steadily increasing numbers. It is known that some continuity in the teaching and performance of both art music and popular music existed from early in the 18th century. It may not be too much to say that until very recently—say, up to the first World War—this had the character of being imposed from without in emulation of envied European

⁸ *Original Sacred Harp* (Denson Revision). Haleyville, Alabama, 1936. This is not the original *Sacred Harp* but a revision of it.



"The Babe of Bethlehem" as it appears in *Southern Harmony*
(Philadelphia, c. 1847)

THE BABE OF BETHLEHEM. 8, 7.

Wm. Walker.

Ye nation all, on you I call,
Come, hear this declaration,
And don't refuse this glorious news
Of Jesus and salvation.

To royal Jews came first the news
Of

Christ the great Messiah,
As was foretold by prophetic old,
Hail - ah, Terminus.

2 To Abraham the promise came, and to his seed for ever,
A light to shine in Isaac's line, by Scripture was discover;
Hail, promised born; the Saviour's born, the glorious Mediator—
God's chosen Word made flesh and blood, assumed the human nature.

- 3 His parents poor in earthly store, to entertain the stranger:
They found no bed to lay his head, but in the ox's manger:
No royal things, as used by kings, were seen by those that found him,
But in the hay the stranger lay, with swaddling bands around him.
- 4 On the same night a glorious light to shepherds there appeared:
Bright angels came in shining flame, they saw and proudly feared;
The angels said, be not afraid, although we tell you,
We have good news to bring, which ye will surely hear.
- 5 "The city's name is, Bethlehem, in which God hath appeared:
This glorious morn a Saviour's born, for him God hath prepared:
By this you'll know, if you will go to see this little stranger,
His lovely charms in Mary's arms, both lying in a manger."
- 6 When this was said, straightway was made a glorious sound from heaven,
Each flaring forth an anthem sung,—"To own a Saviour's given,
In Jesus' name, the glorious throne we choose,
And all the angels will adore him, with voices sweet and true."
- 7 Then with delight they took their flight, and wing'd their way to glory,
The shepherds gazed and were amazed, to hear the pleasing story:
To Bethlehem they quickly came, the glorious news to carry,
To Bethlehem they found them all, Joseph, the Babe, and Mary.
- 8 The shepherds then return'd again to their own habitation,
With joy of heart they did depart, now they have found salvation
Glory, they cry, to God on high, who sent his Son to save us
This glorious morn the Saviour's born, the name is, God with us.

Come let us sing our parting tune, With cheerful notes we'll raise; And if I ne'er see you more | We'er all poor sinners we confess,
May you give God the praise. | And always so have been.

May God have mercy on us all, And keep us safe from sin.

- 2 Now let us sing our parting verse,
Farewell to all my friends;
This is a time of parting too
For now our school must end.
- 3 Live till the Lord in glory come,
And wait his heaven to share,
He now is fitting up your home;
Go on we'll meet you there.

"Milton" as it appears in *Southern Harmony*



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fashions rather than of being developed from within upon the existing premises of New World culture. However, four-voice hymn-singing, with the melody in the highest voice and orthodox harmonic (chordal) writing, was well known before 1800 and has increasingly dominated the field of written music.

Historical references to folk-music, on the other hand, are slight. Transfer from oral to written tradition (as in the early "songsters") has not been enough investigated to have provided us with much year-to-year evidence of the state of folk-music in the New World. However, from evidence of survival in our own day of over a hundred ancient British ballads and of a wealth of related folk-music materials, and the development of some new, apparently local, forms, it would appear that folk-music has functioned healthily throughout our three centuries of Anglo-American culture. Other—minority—European language groups (German, in the middle Atlantic States; French in the northeast, down the Mississippi, and along the Gulf; Spanish along the southwestern border and in Florida) have defined some regional variations.

Cultivation of these folk-arts, almost entirely through oral rather than written tradition, would seem to be a development from within the fabric of New World culture. While we must, of course, look to European hymnody for ancestors of our shape-note style (some "round-note" hymnals, as far back as 1800, be it said, also exhibit it), does it not seem possible that we may discover more than a little of its nature and hence its ancestry from the living descendants of our largely unknown folk-history?

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In our culture as a whole, an initial simplification, enforced by the conditions of pioneer and colonial life, gave way to a consequent elaboration. Current notions of "evolution" have dubbed this "progress" and its reverse—complex to simple—"regress". Owing to the fact that the more archaic music appeared to have attained a special importance in some cultural "islands" such as the northern woods and the southern mountains, some observers have been tempted to associate folk-music, oral tradition, and such phenomena as shape-note singing, with the moribund elements of culture and so with regress.

Our present knowledge lends considerable support to this

view. For example, a very large number of shape-note tunes, of the related but unprinted revival hymns and other materials of strictly oral tradition, and, indeed, of American folk-music in general, is pentatonic. If Yasser⁹ is correct in his theory that pentatonic tonal systems represent a more primitive development in the evolution of musical art than do heptatonic, the problem would to a large extent be solved almost mechanically.

Certainly, the resemblance of the shape-note settings to some 13th-century music—especially the *Conductus*—is striking. Compare, for example, the following "Ballade Style Conductus" (c. 1200) given to me by Dr. Leonard Ellinwood:¹⁰

Ex. 2

A - ve vir - go vir - gi - num, ver - bi car - nis cel - la

The old singing-school teachers had not, of course, the historical knowledge which could rationalize a revolt against orthodox four-voice harmonic writing in such a form as that of the three-voice shape-note style. The explanation might very well be that, along with the borrowing of secular folk-tunes (which practice Jackson has shown to have been common), borrowing of a prevailing convention in the polyphonic performance of these tunes may have taken place. We would expect to find, however, traces of such practice in present-day secular folk-music and in the branch of religious singing that functions along lines of oral rather than written tradition.

Interestingly enough, this is just what happens. Both White and Negro spiritual-singing in two and three voices is common; in four voices, rare. Current "hill-billy" singing also shows two-voice and three-voice improvisation. The interval of a fourth is very prominent, occurring often upon long-held tones, on accented beats, where urban conventions, both of "art" singing and popu-

⁹ Yasser, Joseph. "A Theory of Evolving Tonality", New York, 1932.

¹⁰ Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana, MS. Pluteus 29.1, folio 240.

lar singing, would call for a sixth or a third. Parallel fourths are common, parallel fifths and octaves also. Especially to be noted are the sudden and, to sophisticated ears, unaccountable unisons and octaves in places where a full harmony would be expected. The tendency to close upon chordal structures of fifth and octave only is also often encountered.¹¹

The fact that similar material is to be found on commercial recordings should attest, to some degree, to its being a wide-spread convention and not merely a rare discovery of seekers after the quaint or antique.



To have pursued the matter thus far, even without adequate documentation, broadens the problem beyond the scope of the present effort. For if, as I feel it is, the contrapuntal style of the three-voice shape-note hymns is part and parcel of the general Anglo-American folk-music idiom of the New World, the question still remains: how did it all get that way? While something may be said for the theory of cultural regress, it is too mechanical and contains too many untenable implications to rest with. On the one hand, we cannot accept invariable harnessing of the notion of "progress" with movement simple to complex, nor of "regress" with its opposite. On the other, we cannot accommodate a view that our wide-spread and dearly-loved popular music—from blues, swing, and boogie-woogie to hill-billy (all largely of folk extraction)—is regressive, with the view, which all accept *as if* true, that the culture of the New World (and particularly of the United States) is essentially progressive in character. Is it not possible that cultures sometimes get somewhat bogged down in complexity and have to simplify in order to maintain their feeling that they are going ahead? May this not hold true of certain strands in a cul-

¹¹ See, for instance, the following discs in the Archive of American Folk Song in the Library of Congress: No. 188B2 "God Moves on the Water" and No. 502B "Dig my Grave", both about to appear in transcription in John and Alan Lomax's forthcoming "Our Singing Country"; also, Resettlement Administration recordings deposited in the Archive, No. 239B2 (10 in.) "I wouldn't mind dyin' if dyin' was all", 3241A1 "Little Marg'et", 3193B2, "The Angels Drooped they Wings", and 3192A2 "Dry Bones". In "Little Marg'et" the singer, Bascom Lamar Lunsford, tunes his banjo in three fourths and one second, giving rise to some unusually good opportunities for parallel fourths in the accompaniment. I have been told upon good authority that this is a usual tuning for the five-string banjo in the low country of South Carolina.

ture, whether or not the culture as a whole acts in the same way?

It would seem that history rarely presents to us such a simple set of data as the one-way theory of cultural regress might attempt to account for *in toto*. It is true that by 1800 (or, for that matter, still in 1900) musical learning and practice in America presented no development comparable with that of Europe at the time. Immigrant traditions had become stilted and garbled, *re-productive* rather than productive.

Be it said to the credit of the people, dissatisfaction with the "state of singing in our churches" was chronic from before the Revolution. One senses a conflict between the state of singing and the state of learning. People were continually popping up with "new methods" by which either or both could be improved. "New methods" were in the air. A new method of government and social organization was in process of being tried out. A new religious revival was evolving. Curiously enough, our first musical rebel, Billings, announced about this time a declaration of independence from traditional limitations in music.¹² Indeed, the patent-, character-, or shape-notes themselves were invented about 1800 in a similar spirit in the field of music teaching—an effort to free the ordinary man from bondage to the high priests of the musical profession and their difficult notation. Did this innovation create the style of the three-voice hymns, or did it serve to organize, for wider distribution, a *fait accompli* frowned upon by the "cultured" but supported strongly enough by the multitude to enable it to persist in spite of this?

Now, it is a curious but significant fact that European art music since before 1900 has employed increasingly a number of devices, including parallel intervals, which characterize the hymns I have been considering. The restrained melodic line and the spare tonal fabric have been gaining more and more adherents. Harmonic (chordal) writing is not so strongly dominant as it was fifty years ago. If one likes to play with the theory of cultural regress, how about its opposite "cultural advance-guard"?

The old singing-school teachers—Ananias Davisson, B. F. White, William Walker, W. H. and M. L. Swan, John G. McCurry, William Hauser, and the rest—had no small hand in

¹² Billings, William, *New England Psalm-Singer*, Boston, 1770, pp. 19-20 ("To all musical Practitioners").

the making of America. Their books have sold in the tens of millions of copies. Often, a single book served (and sometimes still serves) as the sole written music source of a dozen or more intensely musical people over many years. During their heyday, European art-music was undergoing the heavy upholstery work of Wagner and Brahms. Though we have no reason to believe the American shape-note composers knew of the work of the Germans, they nevertheless mark the first turn away from the then prevailing trend of late romantic music.

It was not until the 1890's that Erik Satie (probably ignorant of the shape-note hymns) made, within the framework of "art"-music, the first determined turn towards the spare and austere fabric, though foretokens of it are to be found in both Berlioz and Musorgsky. The music puritanism of Satie and the "neo-classicists" is, of course, a very different kind of thing from the music puritanism of the American hymn-writers. But the technical function is very like.

* * *

There is, then, something about these three-voice shape-note settings that is not only centuries older than their day, but a good half or three-quarters of a century in advance of it. May we not hope that some time in the near future adequate study will be made, not only of the technical processes they exhibit but also of the socio-historical processes of which they were a part?

HISPANIC MUSICAL CULTURE FROM THE 6th TO THE 14th CENTURY

By HIGINI ANGLÈS*

RAFAEL MITJANA, in his study, *La Musique en Espagne*, published in the *Encyclopédie de la Musique* (Part I, vol. IV; Paris, 1920), was the first to enrich the study of early Hispanic music. His extensive data, especially the material on the musical art of the Arabs and on the songs in the vernacular languages of Spain, are of great value. An earlier scholar, M. Soriano-Fuertes, gave, to be sure, an account of Hispanic music in his four-volume *Historia de la Música Española*, published in 1855, but this work is not a reliable source of information. The book of the late Julián Ribera, *La Música de las Cantigas* (1922), contains an inexhaustible arsenal of historical documentation on the Arabic musical culture within the Iberian peninsula, though his theories are strongly open to question from a musicological standpoint.

The Benedictine monks have contributed many studies on the music of the Visigothic Church, and among these scholars may be mentioned M. Sablayrolles,¹ G. M. Sunyol,² C. Rojo and G. Prado.³ M. Férotin⁴ has also studied the liturgical aspect of the Visigothic Church. To these may be added the name of Peter Wagner,⁵ whose work on the Mozarabic chant is epoch-making.

*This article is an adaptation of part of the volume of commentary (written in Catalan) of the author's *El Codex musical de las Huelgas*.

¹ Dom Maur Sablayrolles, *A la recherche des Manuscrits Grégoriens Espagnols. Iter Hispanicum*, in *Sammelbände der I. M. G.* (1911-1912), XIII. First published in Catalan in the *Revista Musical Catalana* (1904-1905), III-IV.

² Dom Gregori M. Sunyol, *Introducció a la Paleografia Musical Gregoriana* (Montserrat, 1925), pp. 198 ff. (Also in French, Paris, 1935.)

³ Germán Prado, *Textos inéditos de la Liturgia Mozárabe* (Madrid, 1926); *Manual de Liturgia Hispano-Visigótica o Mozárabe* (Madrid, 1927), and *Historia del rito mozárabe y toledano* (Siles, 1928). Casiano Rojo and Germán Prado, *Antiphonarium Mozarabicum de la Catedral de León* (León, 1928), and *El Canto Mozárabe. Estudio histórico-crítico de su antigüedad y estado actual*, Biblioteca de Catalunya (Barcelona, 1929). Also various articles in *Revue du Chant Grégorien*, *Speculum*, etc.

⁴ Dom M. Férotin, *Le Liber Ordinum* (Paris, 1904) and *Le Liber Sacramentorum* (Paris, 1912).

⁵ Peter Wagner, *Einführung in die Gregorianischen Melodien* (Leipzig, 1912) II, pp. 174 ff.; *Der mozarabische Kirchengesang und seine Überlieferung*, in *Spanische*

The Mozarabic chant is of the utmost importance for the study of musical culture in Visigothic Spain. It should be remembered that the Visigothic liturgy was not entirely the work of the ecclesiastic writers of the 6th and 7th centuries (for the copyists often changed both text and music), nor of the Councils of Toledo.⁶ Such figures as Saints Leander and Isidore were the promoters, upholders and enrichers of this liturgy and its chants, but they were not precisely its creators. Unfortunately we know practically nothing about the first composers of musical forms of the Hispanic liturgy, and this is one of the problems still awaiting a solution.

Our information, however, about the composers who flourished at the end of the 6th century and during the first half of the 7th, is of great value for the study of early Hispanic music. From data given by St. Isidore in his *De Viris illustribus*, and also from the writings of St. Ildefonso in the continuation of that work, it appears that there were three great centers of religious musical culture in Spain at that time. There was Seville, with St. Leander (d. 599), who "multa dulci sono composuit",⁷ and St. Isidore (d. 636), the encyclopedic musical theorist of the time, who summed up the doctrine of Cassiodorus, and who, as he tells us in his writings,⁸ was familiar with ecclesiastical chant from his earliest youth. St. Ildefonso, though musically educated at the side of St. Isidore, was most active at Toledo. This city of Castile earned first place in the development of the theory and practice of Hispanic music from earliest times. There St. Eugene (d. 657), a disciple of St. Brauli of Saragossa, collected non-liturgical chants that are today the oldest models of this type, and he also corrected the corrupted chants of the Toledan liturgy.⁹ There St. Ildefonso (d. 667) composed

Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft (1928), I, pp. 102-141, and *Untersuchungen zu den Gesangstexten und zur responsorialen Psalmodie der altspanischen Liturgie*, in *Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft* (1930), II, pp. 67-113.

⁶ Dom Férotin: *Liber Sacramentorum*, p. XVII; and P. Wagner: *Untersuchungen zu den Gesangstexten der altspanischen Liturgie*, in *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens*, 2. Band (1930), p. 89.

⁷ "... wrote many compositions of sweet sound". (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 83, col. 1104.)

⁸ Chapters 14-22 of Book III of Isidore's *Etymologiarum sive originum Libri XX* are on music and are reprinted in Gerbert: *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum*, I, pp. 19 ff. See also Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 82, col. 737 ff. or the new edition (1911) of the *Etymologiarum* ... by W. M. Lindsay, and Peter Wagner, *Der mozarabische Kirchengesang und seine Überlieferung*, p. 109, where Isidore's writings are summarized.

⁹ Cf. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 96, col. 204.

Alleluias to St. Leocadia, Masses in honor of St. Cosmas and St. Damian, and originated new musical and literary forms in his hymns to the Virgin Mary.¹⁰ To this group should be added the name of St. Julian (d. 690), who according to contemporary testimony "de officiis quam plurima dulcifluis sono composuit."¹¹ The musical culture of Toledo extended even as far as Palencia, where the erudite Conantius (d. 639) wrote many new melodies for the divine cult.¹²

Saragossa, the third center, had a musical culture that could almost compete with that of Toledo. The founder of the Aragonese school of church music was Joannes, bishop of Saragossa (d. 631). He composed both text and music for his church,¹³ while his brother and successor, Brauli (d. 651), also a learned man in the science of the chant, was the teacher of Bishop Eugene of Toledo.¹⁴

However, it is difficult to be exact concerning the specific musical contribution of each of the above-mentioned churchmen. Without doubt, Bishop Leander of Seville was one of the most famous arrangers of the Visigothic liturgy and chant of those times. For a while he resided in Byzantium, where he was a friend of Gregory, later Pope Gregory the Great, and of Johannes, afterwards bishop of Gerona. St. Eugene of Toledo, St. Ildefonso and St. Julian, and Conantius of Palencia, are the four great masters of the Castilian school. Concerning their science and musical work, as of that of the two brothers, Johannes and Brauli of Saragossa, our information is confined to the quotations given above. These, together with other citations in the *Antiphonarium* of León, show clearly that the music of the Visigothic Church was not the work of one master, but of a number of anonymous writers with whom these few known musicians collaborated by making corrections or by writing in new forms.¹⁵

¹⁰ Cf. Dom Férotin, *Liber mozarabicus Sacramentorum*, col. 754 ff.

¹¹ "... from the offices composed very many sweet-sounding pieces". From the *Vita sancti Juliani* by Felix (d. 700), in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 96, col. 448.

¹² "... nam melodias soni multas noviter edidit." (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 96, col. 203.)

¹³ "In ecclesiasticis Officiis quaedam eleganter et sono et oratione composuit." (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 96, col. 201.)

¹⁴ Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 96, col. 203.

¹⁵ Cf. Peter Wagner, in *Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft* I, pp. 111 ff.

There are no details concerning the church of Tarragona. We only know that the Codex Veronensis was written there at the end of the 7th or beginning of the 8th century and that it is, at present, the oldest *Libellus orationum* of the Visigothic liturgy we possess. This is our only codex of the time before the Moorish invasion, but unfortunately it does not say a word about the question of the chant. Two men may have contributed largely to the form of the Tarragonian liturgy: Petrus of Lérida, of the 5th and 6th centuries, who added new prayers and masses,¹⁶ and Johannes of Gerona, the companion of Saint Leander in Byzantium, who, having studied seventeen years in the Orient, must have absorbed some of the beauties of the Oriental liturgy before returning to Gerona, where he founded the monastery of Biclara. While we may presume that these prelates occupied themselves with music within the church, we actually know nothing concrete. The fact, however, that Bishop Protasius of Tarragona requested St. Eugene of Toledo to write a Mass or prayers to St. Hippolitus and a votive Mass for his Church of Tarragona in 650, seems to indicate that the bishops of Catalonia did not have the liturgical ingenuity that was possessed in Toledo.¹⁷

Still, there were some Catalan bishops who were authors of hymns and masses of the Catalan-Visigothic Church. Quiricus, bishop of Barcelona during the 7th century, wrote a hymn to St. Eulalia; and a Mass to this saint (*Liber mozarabicus Sacramentorum*, col. 136) was composed in Barcelona. The Hymn of St. Cugat, *Barchinon laete Cucufate vernans*, of the 7th century, also came from Barcelona, the author probably being Quiricus, and the Mass to this saint (*Liber Sacramentorum*, p. 498) is from the same place.¹⁸ The Hymn of St. Felix of Gerona, of the 7th century, and the two Masses that are in the *Liber Sacramentorum* (pp. 583 ff. and 380 ff.), were composed in Gerona, probably by Bishop Nonitus.¹⁹ In spite of these few facts about the texts of the Visi-

¹⁶ Cf. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 83, cols. 1090 and 1105. See also S. Bäumer, *Geschichte des Breviers* (Freiburg i. B., 1895, p. 244).

¹⁷ Cf. *Epistola Eugenii ad Protasium Tarraconensem*, in *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 87, col. 412.

¹⁸ On the personality and the work of Quiricus of Barcelona, who may be the same as Quiricus, Archbishop of Toledo, see J. Múnera, *Eulaliana*, in *Reseña Eclesiástica* (Barcelona, 1930), XXII, pp. 152 ff., and the bibliography given there.

¹⁹ On the Visigothic hymns written in Catalonia, see Justo Pérez de Urbel in *Bulletin Hispanique* (1926), XXVIII, pp. 135 ff., and 218, etc.

gothic liturgy composed in Catalonia, we do not know any actual author who composed musical pieces for this liturgy.

The available data concerning the music performed within the Catalan churches of those early times are also scant. Canon VII of the Council of Tarragona, of 516, records that each week, on Saturday, the clergy went to the cathedral to chant the vespers and prepare for the services on Sunday.²⁰ Canon I of the Council of Gerona, of 517, says, "... in Dei nomine in omni Tarraconensi provincia tam ipsius missae ordo *quam psallendi* vel ministrandi consuetudo servetur" ("in the name of God, throughout the province of Tarragona let the order of the Mass itself, and of the singing of psalms, according to the usage of the service, be preserved."). The liturgical and musical unity in the ecclesiastical province of Tarragona is of great importance. By the 6th century, Roman elements probably had been introduced into the churches of Tarragona, as into those of Portugal. This unity was analogous to that of the *ordo orandi atque psallendi*, which the Fourth Council of Toledo in 633 made *per omnem Hispaniam atque Galliam* (by "Galliam" is meant the church of Narbonne).

Regarding the Portuguese church, it is well to remember that St. Martius, abbot of Dumio in Galicia, who was later bishop of Braga, had travelled in the Orient and had also come in contact with the monastery of Biclara. The canons of the Oriental church had been translated before 563, and the Third Council of Toledo in 589 decreed that the Credo, *secundum formam orientalium ecclesiarum*, be chanted. Rome, however, did not adopt it until the 11th century, and it is not known just what was the Hispanic melody of this Credo. The Roman chant and rite were used in Portugal during the Visigothic epoch, while in Catalonia the change came about more slowly. From the time of Pope Vigilius in 538, and Bishop Profuturus of Braga, the Portuguese Church, as an exception in the peninsula, had already fully adopted the Roman liturgy.²¹ The Council of Braga, in 561, inserted in the First Canon, "ut unus atque idem psallendi ordo in matutinis vel vespertinis officiis teneatur, et non diverse ac provate, neque

²⁰ Juan Tejada y Ramiro, *Colección de Cánones de la Iglesia Española* (Madrid, 1850), II, 113, 117, 263, etc.

²¹ See G. Prado, *Historia del Rito Mozárabe y Toledano*, p. 67, and J. Augusto Ferreira, *Estudos Histórico-Litúrgicos. Os Ritos particulares das Igrejas do Braga e Toledo* (Coimbra, 1924), 72 ff.

monasteriorum consuetudines cum ecclesiastica regula sint permixtae"²² ("that one and the same order of psalm-singing be maintained both at matins and at vespers, and not differently and diversely, neither let the usages of the monasteries be mixed with the rules of the church"). That the Portuguese Church had a well systematized chant is known, also, by the inscription on a tombstone, dedicated to one *Andreas princeps cantorum*, of the church of Mertola, in 525.²³

From the foregoing it can be seen that the Visigothic Church could boast of celebrated composers from the earliest times. Moreover, the Benedictines of Silos have recently brought to light two names of unknown Spanish bishops, contemporary with the great bishops of the 7th century, who also wrote religious chants. They are Balduigi d'Ercavica and Rogatus de Baeza.

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For the Mozarabic epoch proper (711-1085) our information concerning the great musicians of the Hispanic church is even more meager. The famous Cixila, "sanctimoniis eruditus ecclesiarum restaurator", archbishop of Toledo at the end of the 8th century, must have had some connection with the chant, as also Petrus, deacon of Toledo (about 746).²⁴ And the great liturgist Salvus, abbot of Albelda, at Rioja (d. 963), cannot have failed to be an important influence.

In the 9th century, Cordova became a center of liturgical musical culture, and there, in the midst of the Andalusian califate, famous men did much for the chant and the cult of the Catholic Church. Speraindeo, active from 820 to 856, was the teacher of St. Eulogius and Alvarus Cordubensis. He was the "vir dissertissimus, magnum temporibus nostris ecclesiae lumen," spoken of by Eulogius. There was also Vincentius of Cordova, a contemporary of Alvarus Cordubensis. This Vincentius is surely the author of the text and probably of the music of the *Miserationes* that are at

²² Tejada, *op. cit.*, II, p. 612.

²³ Hubner, *Inscriptiones Hispaniae Christianae*, Supplem. No. 302, reproduced by Rojo and Prado in *El Canto mozárabe*, p. 16.

²⁴ Cf. *Cronicon Isidori Pascensis*, Migne, P. L. 96, 1277. For the Mozarabic culture of the 8th-9th centuries, see A. Ballesteros, *Historia de España* (Barcelona, 1920), II, pp. 153 ff.

the end of the Codex of Azagra.²⁵ Leovigildus of Cordova, author of *De habitu clericorum*, and Ciprian (d. 890), archpriest of the Cathedral of Cordova, should also be mentioned. The latter is the author of the four epigrams and three epitaphs in the Codex of Azagra. In this Cordovan center of ecclesiastical culture Paulus Alvarus Cordubensis, St. Eulogius and the Abbot Samson were prominent figures. Alvarus Cordubensis (d. ca. 861) was celebrated for his Latin poems, in which there are references to music.²⁶

Islam at first permitted relative liberty for the Christian cult in the churches of Cordova. St. Eulogius could then say, "Inter ipsos sine molestia fidei degimus" ("among them we continue without molestation to the faith"), but when persecution filled the prisons with martyrs, he paints a different picture: "Non promit cantor divinum carmen in publico; non vox psalmistae tinnit in choro; non lector concionatur in pulpito; non Levita evangelizat in populo; non sacerdos thus infert altaribus" ("the singer does not bring forth the divine song; the voice of the psalm-singer does not ring in the chorus; the preacher does not harangue in the pulpit; the deacon does not evangelize among the people; the priest does not bring incense to the altars").²⁷ A musical reminiscence of the thriving liturgical culture of the school of Cordova can be studied in the two Visigothic codices preserved in the Cathedral of that Andalusian city.²⁸

A question of prime importance for Hispanic music is the chant of the *Preces*, or versicles, in the Mozarabic liturgy. W. Meyer maintains that these versicles could not have been written before the 10th century, and that they are imperfect imitations of the Proses or Sequences that appeared at that time in Germany and France. According to Meyer, the *Preces* entered the peninsula from France, and in particular through the intermediary of St.

²⁵ Ludovicus Traube, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Poetae latini aevi Carolini* (Berlin, 1886), III, p. 147, and Prado, *Historia del Rito Mozárabe*, p. 48.

²⁶ See *Analecta Hymnica*, 27, No. 118, and *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Poetae latini aevi Carolini*, III, p. 139 ff.; also L. Traube *op. cit.*, p. 126, who collated the *Carmen philomelaicum* of St. Eugene (edited by Lorenzana in *Patrum Toletanorum*, I, 59) with the Codex of Azagra.

²⁷ Florez, *España Sagrada*, XI, *passim*, and G. Prado, *Historia del Rito Mozárabe y Toledano*, pp. 55 ff.

²⁸ For an account of the liturgical cult in the Spanish churches of Cordova, see Flórez, *España Sagrada*, X and XI; and R. Menéndez Pidal, *Orígenes del Español* (Madrid, 1926), pp. 436 ff. Also Prado, *Liturgia Mozárabe*, pp. 48 ff.

Martial de Limoges.²⁹ We note, however, that the *Antiphonarium* of León (f. 116), copied towards the middle of the 10th century, attributes to St. Julian of Toledo (d. 690) the addition of the versicle *Domine misericordiarum, obliviscere peccata nostra* to the Vespers of the Sundays of Quaresima; and, also, that this Codex contains other versicles for Good Friday.³⁰ The Codex a. II. 9 of the Escorial, copied in 945, likewise contains, on f. 27, some versicles, written perhaps by St. Ildefonso.³¹ Meyer's thesis is considerably weakened by these facts.

The Preces are most interesting because of the popular music they incorporate. The primitive version of these melodies cannot be transcribed at present, but codices found in San Millan de la Cogolla, even though written in Gregorian notation, keep throughout the Preces and *Miserationes* of the abolished Mozarabic liturgy. The Gradual of the Vall d'Aran, from the 11th and 12th centuries, with Catalan notation, preserved in a private library in Barcelona, has beautiful examples of such Preces. It should be possible to transcribe these melodies, at least from the Castilian and Catalan codices written after the suppression of the Visigothic liturgy, and it is to be hoped that the popular element contained in them will then be fully studied. The hymn *Carnes tollendas*, from the Visigothic liturgy of the 7th century, is likewise interesting because of its popular element; it is also found in later foreign MSS. The hymn *Alleluia piis edite laudibus*, is the only existing example of a Mozarabic hymn in which, at the end of every second verse, the people respond, "Alleluia perenne."³² In the codex of Madrid, B. N. MSS 1005 (Hb 60), formerly Toledo 35-I, of the 10th century, it is written with Visigothic neumes.

In the 9th and 10th centuries there was a great retrogression in the purity and richness of execution of the Mozarabic chant. Whereas formerly it had been executed by large choruses, it was now sung by a small group. One of the prologues of the *Antiphonarium* of León gives an extensive description of a perform-

²⁹ Über die rythmischen Preces der mozarabischen Liturgie, in *Nachrichten der K. Gesellschaft der Wissensch. zu Göttingen, Phil. hist. Klasse* (1913), pp. 177-222.

³⁰ Serrano, *Antiphonarium mozarabicum de la Catedral de León*, pp. XI ff.; and Wagner, in his study *Untersuchungen zu den Gesangstexten und zur responsorialen Psalmodie der altspanischen Liturgie*, pp. 109 ff.

³¹ Serrano, *op. cit.*, p. XXII.

³² See *Analecta hymnica*, 27, 74 ff., and J. Pérez de Urbel, *Bulletin Hispanique* (1926), XXVIII, p. 136.

ance in the older times. According to this account, three choruses took part in the chanting of the responses and psalms, one near the altar, another at the throne, and a third in the center of the church.³³ But by the time this prologue was written, the singers had lost most of their skill in reading the Mozarabic neumes. Moreover, Rome, in order to unify the rites of the Church, for some time had been intent upon abolishing the old Hispano-Gothic liturgy. The power of the Roman See finally prevailed, and on Tuesday, March 22, 1071, the Lex Romana entered with full authority in the Monastery of San Juan de la Peña.

After 1076, the Lex Romana ruled and supplanted the Lex Toledana in the kingdoms of Navarre, Castile, and León.³⁴ The suppression of the Mozarabic rite and chant in Catalonia is supposed to have occurred in either the year 1068 or 1071. This is an important date to be cleared up in Spanish musical history. The musical codices show that from very early times the Roman liturgy as well as the Roman chant had been used in the churches of Catalonia. They demonstrate also the coexistence of the two liturgies and of both chants.³⁵

To sum up, the Hispanic musical culture of the 6th to the 11th century may be traced in the specimens of the liturgy that have been preserved. Our codices in neumes show that Toledo had an earlier and more important musical school than any in the rest of the peninsula, and that it succeeded in developing a characteristic neume-notation. The features of this writing consist principally in presenting the neumes plainly, with little variety of form, with few diastematic peculiarities, and totally horizontal. The codices,

³³ *Corus ad aram, corus in pulpitu[m] stabat, Corusque in templo resonabat suabiter.*

³⁴ Tejada, *Disertación histórico-cronológica de la misa antigua de España, concilios y sucesos sobre su establecimiento y mutación*, in the *Colección de cánones de la Iglesia española*, III, pp. 164 ff.; Prado, *Historia del Rito Mozárabe y Toledano*, pp. 76 ff.; Paul Kehr, *Wie und wann wurde das Reich Aragon ein Leben der römischen Kirche?* in *Sitzungsberichten der Phil.-Hist. Klasse* (Berlin, 1928), XVIII, pp. 203 ff.; also his *Das Papsttum und die Königreiche Navarra und Aragon bis zur Mitte des XII. Jahrhunderts* (Abhandlungen der Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften), 1928, Nr. 4. See also A. Millares Carlo, *Paleografía Española. Ensayo de una historia de la Escritura en España desde el siglo VIII al XVII* (Barcelona 1929), I, 161 ff.

³⁵ Zurita, *Anales*, I. chap. 21; P. de Sandoval, *Historia de los reyes*, f. 160. Tejada, l. c. III, pp. 183 ff.; Sablayrolles, *Iter Hispanicum* in the *Sammelbände der IMG* (1911-1912), XIII, pp. 225 ff. See also Villanueva, *Viaje*, VI, pp. 86 ff., and Aguirre, *Collectio maxima conciliorum*, IV, 431 ff. Also H. Anglès, *La musique en Catalogne aux X^{me} et XI^{me} siècles. L'Ecole de Ripoll*, in *La Catalogne à l'époque romane* (Paris, 1932), pp. 137 ff.

on the other hand, also show that Silos, León, San Millán de la Cogolla, Compostela, etc., had schools of musical writing in which the neumes were more elegant, more diastematic, and purely vertical. And these, again, were excelled in fineness and calligraphic purity by the school of San Juan de la Peña. The musical examples of this kind are sufficient to give us an idea of this music at its highest development as found within the peninsula.³⁶

The Mozarabic notation, be it that of the school of Toledo, Silos, San Millán, León, or Compostela, is so rich in its variety of neumatic forms that it can compete in this respect with any of the other Gregorian neume-notations of the Occident. Notwithstanding the mortal wound given the Mozarabic chant in the 11th century, its musical influence was still felt for some time in religious chants. The six parishes in Toledo that were permitted by the Pope to use the Mozarabic chant and liturgy, still preserved this status in the 13th century, according to the testimony of the Archbishop Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada in *De rebus Hispaniae* (1243), written for King Ferdinand I of Castile.³⁷ Mozarabic chants are also found within the liturgy of the Catalan monasteries and churches.

If in Catalonia, where the liturgy and chants of Rome were introduced perhaps at the end of the 9th century and the beginning of the 10th, we find so many Mozarabic remains during the 11th and 12th centuries, then it is reasonable to suppose that the national liturgy may have persisted much longer in Aragon, Castile, León, and even in Andalusia, since in these regions it was in full vigor until well into the second half of the 10th century.

The religious musical culture of the 9th and 10th centuries could not compete with the musical culture of the Arabic courts;³⁸ nevertheless, if more documents had been preserved we would have ample cause to admire the non-Arabic musical development throughout the peninsula during this period. The consecration

³⁶ See *El Canto Mozárabe*, by Rojo and Prado, pp. 18 ff.

³⁷ *De rebus Hispaniae*, I, 4, C, 3. See also F. de Lorenzana, *PP. Toletanorum quotquot extant Opera* (Madrid, 1793), III, p. 139; and G. Prado, *Historia del Rito Mozárabe*, pp. 79 ff., who gives a list of the places in Castile where the Mozarabic liturgy continued.

³⁸ J. Ribera, *La enseñanza entre los musulmanes españoles*, in *Disertaciones y opúsculos* (Madrid, 1928), and *La Música de las Cantigas* (Madrid, 1923); R. Méndez Pidal, *La España del Cid* (Madrid, 1929) I, pp. 90 ff.; and Gómez Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes* (Madrid, 1919), I, pp. 326 ff.

and donation Acts reveal that even the smallest churches did not lack an *Antiphonarium*, an *Imnorum*, a *Psalterium* etc., which frequently are designated "libros de toto anni circulo," or even more simply, "libros."³⁹ Such books presuppose the existence of cantors, be they soloists or directors of chant in the Schola Cantorum.⁴⁰

During the 10th and 11th centuries the school of Ripoll was very important for Catalonian music. In a catalogue of 1049 the following codices are listed: "Antiphonaria XIII, Prosarios II, Missales XI, Lectionaria IIII, Psalterium argenteum, alios XXI et unum toletanum, et alterum triplicum, Ymnarios X, Missales toletanos V, Musica." In 1023, Ripoll had loaned to the monastery of Santa Cecilia de Montserrat, "Ymnos. . . Missale i Antiphonarium I," which the abbot, Oliva, later took back to Ripoll.⁴¹ It may be assumed that if these MSS had been preserved, Ripoll would be entitled to rank with any of the great European musical schools.

Undoubtedly Ripoll had a religious musical culture superior to the other peninsular schools during the 10th and 11th centuries. The monastery had cultural relations with Fleury (Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire) and with St.-Germain-des-Prés, and was closely allied with the monastery of Cuixà. It was the door through which the liturgical musical culture entered Catalonia from the south of France. The school of Ripoll gradually developed a distinctive type of neumes; this notation is partly derived from a simplification of the Mozarabic neumes, and partly from the diastematic tendency of the Aquitanian notation of the monasteries of southern France. In Ripoll the evolution of the European theory of music was known, for we find the works of the 6th-century Boetius, the *Musica Enchiriadis* of the 9th century, the *De Harmonica Institutione* of Hucbald of the 9th and 10th centuries, and the *Breviarium de Musica* of the monk Oliva. These were copied at Ripoll between the years 1018-1046 and are today found in

³⁹ Florez, *España sagrada*, passim. J. M. de Eguren, *Memoria descriptiva de los códices notables conservados en los archivos eclesiásticos de España* (Madrid, 1859), pp. lxxxviii ff.; Petrus de Marca in *Marca Hispanica*, Parisiis, mdcclxxxviii; L. Serrano, *Fuentes para la historia de Castilla*, I-III, from 1910; Gómez Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, pp. 326 ff.

⁴⁰ There is, for example, an interesting Latin epitaph that lauds the skill of a cantor named Samuel, who died at Comares (Málaga) in 862. Cf. Simonet, *Historia de los Mozárabes*, 621; Rojo-Prado, *El Canto Mozárabe*, p. 16. For the Mozarabic culture of the 10th century, see Ballesteros, *Historia de España*, II, pp. 159 ff.

⁴¹ R. Beer, *Die Handschriften des Klosters Santa Maria de Ripoll*, I, pp. 101 ff.

Codex 42 of Ripoll in the Archivo de la Corona de Aragón in Barcelona.⁴² Comparing the tropes and sequences that have been preserved one can see a connection between Ripoll and St. Martial of Limoges and the monastery of Moissac. It was also intimately allied with the monastery of San Juan de la Peña and San Millán de la Cogolla (Rioja).⁴³

Important for the study of the Catalan liturgy are the *Tonale* of Ripoll and the *Tonale* of Sant Cugat del Vallès, as these codices contain most of the chants from the *Proprium Officii*, the *Proprium Missae* and the *Ordinarium Missae* of the 10th century. Perhaps the outstanding feature of the Ripoll *Tonale* is the fact that it clearly indicates the modality of each chant. Since the modality is precisely the feature that is generally left in doubt in the MSS and is especially difficult to determine in interpreting the neumes, this codex is doubly important.

The origins and evolution of the school of Ripoll will be cleared up with further research in new liturgical music sources.



The extent of the musical culture of the Arabs can be estimated from the documents assembled by Julián Ribera. But our knowledge of this music comes only from contemporary literary sources, and the actual corroboration of Arabic musical documents is lacking. The study of Spanish musical history would benefit greatly if various points could be verified in the light of such documents, but at present we do not know of any *authentic* musical source-material that explains the exact nature either of the Arabic religious chant, or of the court and popular song in the time of the Arabian domination. Our knowledge of the subject, therefore, remains largely hypothetical. We shall speak presently of some Arabian musical theorists in Spain.

As regards the early Spanish theorists, it is regrettable that no treatise on sacred chant from the 9th to the 12th century has been preserved, with the exception of the *Breviarum de Musica* of the monk Oliva of Ripoll, dating from the latter part of the 11th century. *Kongress-Bericht* and the *Revista Musical Catalana* (1927), pp. 138 ff. Also separate.

⁴² H. Anglès, *La música a veus anterior al segle XV a Espanya*, in the *Wiener*

⁴³ H. Anglès, *La musique en Catalogne*, loc. cit., and *El Codex Musical de las Huelgas*, Vol. I, pp. 155 ff. and 106 ff.

ture.⁴⁴ This paucity contrasts unfavorably with the rich theoretical output of France, Italy and Germany from the same period. But the scriptoria of those monasteries that were centers of liturgical music in Spain must have produced an abundance of treatises, and it is inconceivable that the schools of Ripoll in Catalonia, of San Juan de la Peña in Aragon, of San Millan de la Cogolla, of Silos and Cardeña in Burgos, of Távara and Liébana in León, and of Toledo—the cultural center of Castile—did not have more or less scientific manuals of music.⁴⁵

For the 13th century, there is the *Ars Musice* of Fray Juan Gil de Zamora, the celebrated historian. This writer was not particularly original, making rather a synthesis of his diverse reading: "Sicut ex diversis linguis et libris et compilationibus diversis et translationibus capere potuimus pauca memorie commendantes" ("since from various languages and books, and various collections, we can take a few things worthy of memory"). It would be interesting to know the names of the musical treatises that he read "ex diversis linguis".⁴⁶

It is known that Arabic culture was introduced into Catalonia early in the 10th century, and that it was profoundly studied in the 12th century by the Toledan school of philosophy, which lasted until the end of the 13th century, and one of whose outstanding representatives was the renowned Gundisalvus, archdeacon of Toledo and Segovia. He was the protector of the young convert Juan de Sevilla, or Juan de Luna (Johannes Avendeth or Avendeut), who translated Arabic texts into the vernacular, which Gundisalvus then put into Latin. The most important work of this Dominicus Gundisalvus is the *De divisione philosophiae*.⁴⁷ In this he uses the ideas of some Arabian authors, principally of Alfarabi, and he devotes a chapter to music, in which he states, "Musica est pericia modulacionis sono cantuque consistens" ("Music is a skill consisting of measured evenness in sound and

⁴⁴ Preserved in the Archive of the Crown of Aragon in Barcelona. Ripoll 42. This is a treatise on the monochord. See Higiní Anglès, *La Música a Catalunya fins al segle XIII* and *La musique en Catalogne aux Xe et XIe siècles. L'École de Ripoll* (loc. cit.).

⁴⁵ Vide Zacarías García Villada, *La Vida de los Escritores Españoles Medievales* (Madrid, 1926).

⁴⁶ *Codex Musical de las Huelgas*, I, p. 20, Note 2. (Sources used by this writer are traced in G. Pietzsch, *Die Klassifikation der Musik von Boetius bis Ugolino von Orvieto* [1929], 32—Ed.)

⁴⁷ Publ. by Ludwig Baur, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters*. Band IV. Heft 2-3 (Münster, 1903).

song")—a citation he probably got from Isidore of Seville.⁴⁸ Also, speaking of the kinds of music, he says: "Species quoque alie sunt practice, alie theorice. Species practice sunt diversitates instrumentorum, quibus fiunt; aliquando enim voce, aliquando tactu, aliquando pulsu, aliquando flatu exercetur; *voce* ut hominis, *tactu* in psalterio, *pulsu* ut in cithara, *flatu* ut in tibia" ("The species moreover are some practical, some theoretical. The practical species are derived from the diverse instruments by which they are produced: for some are worked by the voice, some by touch, some by striking, and some by the breath; the voice is used by man, touch is for the psalter, plucking for the cithara, and breath for the flute"). In speaking of "utilitas huius artis", he has high praise for music. But beyond these passages, we know little more at present concerning the musical theory of the Toledan philosophical school.

If Gundisalvus imbibed the Arabic philosophy, his own theories and definitions were in turn absorbed by later writers, such as Michael Scotus and Robert Kilwardby.⁴⁹ The latter, in his *De ortu et divisione philosophie*, actually takes his scientific definitions from the Castilian philosopher. This Kilwardby was an Englishman who studied in Paris, became professor at Oxford, was archbishop of Canterbury in 1272, and died in 1279. Speaking of music, in the above-mentioned work, he says, "Musicam autem sonoram sic definit Gundisalinus [another form of the name Gundisalvus] est peritia modulationis sono cantuque consistens" ("Gundisalinus thus defines practical music: it is a skill consisting of measure in sound and song").⁵⁰ Also connected with Gundisalvus was Gerard de Cremona (1114-1187), master of the Toledo school, who translated a great number of Arabic works that were used by Gundisalvus; among them two musical theory works of Alfarabi.

Alfarabi, of Turkish origin, was born in 872 A.D., in the district of Farab, in Persia. Leaving his country he went to Bagdad to study Arabic, and acquired great fame, being known as the "second master after Aristotle." He died at Damascus in 950. Through

⁴⁸ Baur, *loc. cit.*, p. 241, is of the opinion that it comes from the *Etymologiarum*, III, 15.

⁴⁹ A. Bonilla Sanmartín, *Historia de la Filosofía Española desde los tiempos primitivos hasta el siglo XII* (Madrid, 1908) I, pp. 316 ff.

⁵⁰ See: V. Grossmann, *Die einleitenden Kapitel des Speculum Musicae von Johannes de Muris* (Leipzig, 1924), pp. 39, 47 & 96, and H. Bessler: *Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters*, in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* (1925), p. 181.

the translations of Gerard of Cremona at Toledo his musical theories were known throughout Europe during the Middle Ages and in the music schools of the peninsula Alfarabi was practically a classical author. An incomplete copy of one of his works is at the Escorial, MS no. 906. According to Erlanger this is one of the most exact, and was made at Cordova. The musical theories brought out by Arabic authors in the Middle Ages were borrowed primarily from the Greeks, but Alfarabi gave them a personal stamp. His examples are purely melodic and set for the four- or five-stringed lute which has a tessitura of two octaves.

And while we are speaking of Arabic music, there is preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid, MSS R. 230, a *Tratado de Música Árabe* (with Arabic text; 119 folios of 22 by 17 cm.) of a later period. The note at the end says "Mohamed elfalahi, Andalusus, Tractus de Musica ac Symphonia, ubi author postquam licitum ejus usum probeverit, illam describit, ac omnia ejus instrumenta recenset; quae sunt triginta et unum. Egir. 701. Author magis juridicus, ac moralis est, quam Musicus" ("Mohamed elfalahi, Andalusian, Treatise on Music and Symphonia, in which the author, after examining its legitimate usage, will describe it and survey all its instruments, which are thirty-one. Year 701 of the Hegira. The author is more of a judge and a moralist than a musician").⁵¹

Half a century ago Soriano-Fuertes declared that Arnau de Vilanova, who died about 1312, had written a treatise on musical theory,⁵² but it has never come to light. Another missing treatise is the *Ars canendi* of Ramon Lull (1235-1315).⁵³ Lull speaks of music in a moral sense, in his *Ars Magna*, Chapter XCIX, and in the *Arbre de la Ciència*.

Another puzzling fact is that musical codices of the transition continue to elude us. There must have been treatises of the period describing the chants of the Mozarabic liturgy, and it is to be hoped that some will be found in Toledo, or elsewhere.

The only codices showing anything at all are, first, the two in the British Museum (Add. 30848 and 30851), which come from

⁵¹ For other Arabic treatises see F. Pedrell, *Los Músicos españoles antiguos y modernos en sus libros* (Barcelona, 1888), pp. 3 ff.; Mitjana, *loc. cit.*, p. 1921; and J. Ribera, *Disertaciones y Opúsculos*, I, 302.

⁵² Soriano-Fuertes, *Historia de la Música Española* (Madrid, 1885), II, p. 54.

⁵³ Amador de los Ríos, *Historia de la Literatura Española* (Madrid, 1863), IV, p. 105, note 2.

Silos, and which, according to Dom Sunyol (*Introducció a la Paleografia Gregoriana*, pp. 212 ff.), contain Gregorian chant with Visigothic neumes; and secondly, the codices of Gregorian chant from San Millan de la Cogolla, in the Academia de la Historia at Madrid, especially Nos. 51 and 45. This No. 51, on ff. 109-119, 124', 125 and 231', contains Preces that seem to bear some relationship to those of the Mozarabic liturgy. To the foregoing may be added various codices of the 12th century preserved in the Cathedral of Toledo. Extremely interesting also is the case of the *Missale Mori* of the 12th-13th centuries, in the Academia de la Historia (sign. 45). Although it is a MS in Gregorian notation, the *Offerenda*, the *Sacra*, *Communicanda*, etc., are of the Mozarabic liturgy. The Toledo MSS are much later; Codex 39.3, for example, is of the 15th century, but the *Exultet* given there has a melody analogous to that of the Mozarabic *Pater Noster*. It is curious how few Gregorian codices of the 11th and 12th centuries have been preserved in comparison with the large number of liturgical books, canonic laws, Bibles, etc.

There are two unknown Mozarabic MSS that have turned up since the monks of Silos and Peter Wagner issued their publications. The first is a fragment of a Visigothic cantoral belonging to the Monastery of San Juan de la Peña—the spiritual center of Aragon—found today in the Section of Philosophy and Letters of the University of Saragossa. It has fourteen leaves, dates from the 10th century, and is extremely important historically for the light it throws on the introduction of the *Lex Romana* in the realm of Aragon.⁵⁴ Its musical calligraphy is perhaps the most beautiful of any of the Mozarabic codices known at the present time. The other fragment is a page bound in the Codex of Cordova with the letters of Alvarus Cordubensis of the 10th century. Judging from what is written there, the other pages must have contained Mozarabic neumes, of the most simple sort.⁵⁵



⁵⁴ Paul Kehr, *Wie und wann wurde das Reich Aragon ein Leben der römischen Kirchen in Sitzungsberichten der Berlin. Phil.-Hist. Klasse* (1928), XVIII, pp. 196 ff. Also, *Das Papsttum und die Königreiche Navarra und Aragon bis zur Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts*, in *Abhandlungen der Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften* (1928), Nr. 4. A facsimile of one of the pages is printed in *El Codex musical de las Huelgas*, I, p. 24.

⁵⁵ *El Codex musical de las Huelgas*, I, p. 25, note 1.

The Iberian peninsula does not remain behind the rest of Europe in secular monodic chant, any more than in concerted vocal music. To the literary evidence of the musical lyric existing since the early part of the Middle Ages, may be added some works preserved with music. The codex 10029 of the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid, is a Visigothic MS of the 9th-10th centuries coming from Toledo;⁵⁶ it was originally the property of Miguel Ring Azagra, Juan B. Pérez taking it to the Cathedral of Toledo in 1587. The texts have been published and it is currently cited as the Codex of Azagra. This MS contains melodies written in Visigothic neumes, some of them noted fragmentarily. Those with Visigothic neumes include the *Versus Vincentii*, on f. 141', the exorcism, *Imperat omnipotens*, on f. 158', and the *Versus Pauli Apostoli*.⁵⁷

There are also songs commemorating historical deeds of importance, or written for entertainments of the nobility. The MSS in question are the Codex of Limoges, of the middle of the 10th century at Paris,⁵⁸ B.N. lat. 1154; the Berne Codex, 394; the hymnal of Moissac, preserved at Rome, the MS 381 of St. Gall; the Codex of Bamberg, III, 20; and that of Paris, B. N. lat. 11632; etc. What has been considered the oldest medieval secular song preserved with music is found in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, lat. 1154, and is a lament (*Mecum timavi*) on the death of Eric de Frioul in 799; the similar piece on the death of Charlemagne, about 814, the Planctus Karoli (*A solis ortu usque ad occidua*), published (like the *Mecum timavi*) by Coussemaker,⁵⁹ is also very old.

But the Madrid MS, besides the songs referred to, contains a lament for Chindasvinthus, king of the Visigoths (641-652) entitled, *Epitafion Chindaswintho regi conscriptum*,⁶⁰ f. 54, fol-

⁵⁶ See: G. Löwe and W. von Hartel, *Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum Hispaniensis* (Vienna, 1887), I, pp. 284-290; Charles Upson Clark, *Collectanea Hispanica* (Paris, 1919), pp. 46 ff.; L. Traube, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Poetae latini aevi Carolini III* (Berlin, 1886), pp. 125 ff.

⁵⁷ L. Traube, *loc. cit.*, pp. 147 & 150; and Rossi, *Bollet. di archeol. crist. Ser. IV*, year III, p. 8.

⁵⁸ Coussemaker stated that the B. N. lat. 1154 was from the 9th century. The question of the date of this Codex has not been completely clarified. Cf. J. Handschin, in *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, XIII, pp. 122 ff.

⁵⁹ *Histoire de l'Harmonie au moyen-âge* (Paris, 1852), pp. 1-2; F. Ludwig, in Adler's *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte* (1930), pp. 160 ff.

⁶⁰ Lorenzana, *Collectio SS. Patrum Ecclesiae Toletanae*, I, Matriti, mdccclxxii, no. lxxxv, p. 76 & No. xxxl, p. 33.

lowed on f. 54' by a lament on the death of queen Recibergera, wife of king Recesvinthus, who died in 657, entitled, *Epitafion in sepulcro Recciuerge regine*. The two laments have signs over the text that resemble a mixture of quantitative and melodic signs. Granted that they were copied long afterwards, it is not likely that they were written three centuries after the death of these individuals. Moreover, these poems, like the *Disticon Filomelaicum* mentioned below, were written by St. Eugene (d. 657), who was created Bishop of Toledo by Recesvinthus. If the poems are the work of St. Eugene it is not impossible to suppose that the music was also written by him, because we know that he had a musical background. If St. Eugene's authorship can ever be proved, the melodies of the Codex of Azagra will attain unusual importance for the history of Hispanic music. In the same MS, the *Epitafion Nicolao*,⁶¹ on ff. 54'-55, is found without music; but the *Disticon Filomelaicum*,⁶² f. 55', also by St. Eugene, has two lines of Visigothic neumes. Comparing these songs with those of the MS of the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, one observes that in the latter the songs are noted with the different strophes (perhaps the notation was added later), while the Madrid MS has the music written only with the first verses.

St. Isidore speaks of epithalamic songs that in his time the students sang to the bridal couple on their wedding-day. None of these songs with neumes has been preserved; but we have the *Carmen de Nubentibus*, which, because of the musical expressions it contains, and the relation it bears to the Epithalamium of Queen Leodegundia (see below), is particularly interesting (it is found in the Visigothic MS of Madrid, B.N. MSS 1005, Hh60, p. CVII).⁶³ This song, assuredly of the 7th century, lists the instruments that were used in a wedding celebration. The nomenclature of the instruments may be clarified by comparison with St. Isidore's description of the musical instruments current in his day.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Lorenzana, *ibid.*, no. lxxxvi, p. 77.

⁶² Lorenzana, *ibid.*, no. V, p. 58, and Anglès, *El Codex Musical de las Huelgas*, Vol. I, p. 27, note 3.

⁶³ Lorenzana, *Breviarium Gothicum*, Matriti, Ibarra, MDCCLXXV, p. cxiii. G. M. Dreves, *Hymnodia gotica*, in *Analecta Hymnica*, 27, pp. 283 ff. Migne, *Patrologia latina*, 86, 922 ff. Also Mitjana, *Histoire de la Musique en Espagne*, p. 1919, and Justo Pérez de Urbel, *Origen de los himnos mozárabes*, in *Bulletin Hispanique* (1926), XXVIII, p. 236.

⁶⁴ For the instruments described by St. Isidore, see Gerbert, I, 22 ff., and *Etymologiarum libr. III* (Migne, P. L., 82, 166 ff.)

We do not know the nature of the burial chants, "funebre carmen quod vulgo defunctis cantari solet", which the third Council of Toledo prohibited in the year 587. Nor do we know anything of that "irreligiosa consuetudo quam vulgus per sanctorum solemnitates agere consuevit, ut populi qui debent officia divina attendere, saltationibus et turpibus invigilent canticis, non solum sibi nocentes, sed et religiosorum officiis perstrepenes" ("irreligious custom that the people were wont to follow during the solemnities of the saints: that those persons who should have been attending divine offices devoted themselves instead to dancing and lewd songs, thus not only hurting themselves, but also disturbing the devotions of the religious"), which this same Council condemned.⁶⁵ In the canons of the Hispanic Councils the references to contemporary musical practices are so numerous that it would be wearisome to list them here.

Of extreme interest is an epithalamic chant to Queen Leodegundia, daughter of King Ordoño I of Asturias, who was married to a king of Pamplona, probably Fortun-Garcés, towards the middle of the 9th century. The acrostic of this song reads, "Leodegundia pulchra Ordonii filia", and it is entitled, *Versi domna Leodegundia regina*. It is copied, with Visigothic neumes, in the recently discovered Codex of Roda.⁶⁶

The queen referred to in this poem is probably the same Leodegundia who retired to the monastery of Bobadilla, near Samos (Galicia), and who in 912 signed the colophon of a codex now preserved at the Escorial (a-I-13).⁶⁷ The musical allusions of the Roda epithalamium show that the poet who exalted the moral and physical beauty of Leodegundia also had a highly cultivated musical sense, and the words,

"Nervi reperi cussu manu cithariste
Tetracordon tinniat, armoniam concitet"

("From the string plucked by the hand of the citharist
let the tetrachord resound and bring forth harmony"),

⁶⁵ F. A. González, *Collectio Canonum Ecclesiae Hispaniae*, Matriti mdccviii, 354, and J. Tejada, *Collección de cánones de la Iglesia Española*, II, p. 249. Anglès, *El Codex Musical de las Huelgas*, p. 29, Note 2.

⁶⁶ Z. García Villada, *El códice de Roda recuperado*, in the *Revista de Filología Española* (1928), XV, pp. 113 ff.

⁶⁷ Dom Férotin, *Liber Sacramentorum*, col. 945; F. Valls i Taberner, *Les Genealogies de Roda o de Meyà, Discursos llegits en la Real Academia de Buenas Letras* (Barcelona, 1920), pp. 16 ff.; Rojo and Prado, *El Canto Mozárabe*, p. 25.

seem to indicate that he understood the principles of "harmony" (in the medieval meaning of the term). Unfortunately, it is impossible to transcribe the music and text of the Roda codex, which are almost illegible, having been obliterated by an ignorant person trying to clean the manuscript.⁶⁸

Another interesting case is the version of the Song of the Sibyl, transcribed by Coussemaker from the MS of Paris, B. N. lat. 1154. Up to the present time this has been considered the oldest version of this song.⁶⁹ However, in the *Homiliari* preserved in the Cathedral of Cordova (sign. 1, f. 69b) there is another setting that may be contemporary with or even anterior to that of Paris. The *Homiliari* of Cordova was written at Valerancia, near Burgos, by Florentinus, about 960.⁷⁰ At Cordova this version is preceded and followed by the pseudo-Augustine. Finding the Song of the Sibyl in the Visigothic church, allows us to presume that it did not come from Limoges, but, on the contrary, that Catalan culture introduced the song into the south of France.⁷¹

A curious discovery was made by Augustín Millares Carlo a few years ago regarding a Latin version of the Dance of Death in the Biblioteca Provincial de Toledo.⁷² In this fragment each personage—pope, archbishop, bishop, count, etc.—says but a single verse. The Codex (without musical notation) appears to be a Visigothic Miscellany of the 11th century, so that the French or British MS in the Bibliothèque Nationale (frç. 25408), copied in the 13th century, is not the most ancient source for the text of the Dance of Death.⁷³

⁶⁸ At the Academia de la Historia in Madrid we have seen the MS (A 6-23-1) of the Prior of Meià, in which are reproduced pages of various codices found in the churches of the realm of Aragon in 1778. The "Dibujo 18" contains these "versi domna Leodegundia", with the corresponding neumes, in a very faithful copy, much clearer than that of the Roda codex.

⁶⁹ Coussemaker, *Histoire de l'harmonie*, pp. IV-V. Cf. H. Anglès, *La Musique en Catalogne aux X^e et XI^e siècles*.

⁷⁰ Clark, *Collectanea Hispanica*, pp. 31, and 231 ff.: plates 65-69.

⁷¹ There are versions of the song of the Sibyl ranging from the 10th to the 16th century, when it was prohibited by several synodal decrees. Coussemaker (*Histoire*, pl. VI) also reproduces the versions of Paris, B. N. lat. 2832, and B. N. lat. 781 (pl. XXVI). F. Pedrell, *Catàlech de la Biblioteca Musical de la Diputació de Barcelona*, I, p. 217, reproduces the version of the *Ordinarium Urgellinum* of 1548 (given in facsimile by H. Anglès, *Vida Cristiana* [1917], V, pp. 65 ff.). Other versions have been published by Pelay Briz (*Cançons de la Terra*, IV), F. Pujol (1918) and A. Gastoué (*Le Cantique populaire en France*, 1924). See further H. Anglès, *La Música a Catalunya fins al segle XIII*, pp. 288 ff.

⁷² Cf. *Contribución al "Corpus" de códices visigóticos*, in *Revista de la Biblioteca, Archivo y Museo*, Ayuntamiento de Madrid (1928), V, p. 35.

⁷³ Cf. F. Ludwig, *Die Quellen der Motetten*, in *Archiv für MW* (1923-24), V,

At present we know nothing about the *tonadas*, or tunes of the vernacular poems that the *juglares* (jongleurs) sang in the 11th century; unfortunately we have only later literary arrangements. The chronicles often speak of *y los muchos juglares*, or, *y había muchas citulas y violeros*. And for the festivals and royal weddings there were *varias clases de ioglares*.⁷⁴ It is a well known fact that the jongleurs played and sang. Menéndez Pidal notes that when the Cid was lord of Valencia, 1095-1099, he sang a *Romanz del Infant Garcia*, and that a *chanson de geste* of the *Infantas de Salas* was sung even earlier.⁷⁵ If we exclude the song that the Flemish pilgrims sang at Compostela in the 12th century, which is not of Hispanic origin,⁷⁶ and the melodies of the troubadours, it is necessary to go to the 13th century in order to find vernacular songs either semi-religious, like the *Cantigas* of Alfonso the Wise, or profane, like the *Cantigas de Amigo*, by the Galician troubadour, Martim Codax, at Vigo.⁷⁷

As for the Latin lyric, the melody sung to the lament *Ad Carmen Populi flebile cuncti*, written on the death of Count Borrell,⁷⁸ (d. 1018) is not preserved—nor is the setting that the (Catalan?) cleric-author of the *Carmen* celebrating the deeds of the great hero dedicated to the Cid.⁷⁹

Of extreme interest are three laments, one on the death of king Alfonso VIII of Castile (1158-1214), another on the death of Sancho III (1157-1158), found in the MS of Burgos, and the third on the death of Ferdinand II of León (1188), which comes from a Codex of Florence. The music of this last is given here.

191, note 1; and the off-print thereof, p. 7. Also W. Stammer, *Die Totentänze des Mittelalters* (Munich, 1922).

⁷⁴ R. Menéndez Pidal, *Poesía juglaresca y juglares* (Madrid, 1924), pp. 144 ff.; id., *La leyenda de los Infantes de Lara* (Madrid, 1896), p. 5.

⁷⁵ Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid* (Madrid, 1929), II, p. 608; id., *Poesía juglaresca*, pp. 309 ff.

⁷⁶ The hymn *Dum pater familias*, commonly known as the *Canto de Ulteya*, is found on folio 193^r of the Codex Calixtinus of Compostela. Cf. S. Tafall, *La música del himno de los peregrinos flamencos del siglo XII al Apóstol Santiago*, in the review *Ulteya* (Santiago, 1920), II, p. 260 ff.; J. B. Trend, *La Música en Galicia*, in *Revista Alfar* (La Coruña, 1925), V, pp. 24 ff.; H. Anglès, *Les Mélodies del trobador Guiraut Riquier*, in *Estudis Universitaris* (1926), XI, p. 2.

⁷⁷ Martim Codax, *Las siete Canciones de Amor*, published in facsimile, with notes, by Pedro Vindel (Madrid, 1915). The MS is from the 13th century, and not from the 12th, as assumed by Vindel.

⁷⁸ This is in Paris, B. N. lat. 5941, f. 92, having come from Ripoll.

⁷⁹ Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid*, II, p. 610.

Ex. 1

8 Sol e-cly-sim pa-ti-tur

8 Ex mor-tis ob-ie-ctu, Mun-di lux ex-tin-gui-

8 tur So-lis in de-fe-ctu, In

8 ce-lum sol iu-sti-ti-e Ra-ptus, dum

8 ter-ras de-se-rit, Or-bem nu-be tri-sti-

8 ti-e So-lis oc-ca-sus o-pe-rit.

8 Dum Fer-nan-dus Hy-

8 spa-ni-e Laus, de-cus, a-pex glo-ri-e,

8 Sol uir-tu-tum, fons gra-ti-e,

8 Qui re-gum scep-trum te-nu-it, Quem nec po-te-stas

8 do-mu-it Nec Mar-tis hor-ror ter-ru-it,

8 Heu mor-tis iu-go sub-di-tur. Sed mors

in mor - te mo - ri - tur, Dum mors in - ui - tam
 uer - ti - tur, Dum pro su - per - no bra - ui - o,
 I - mo mu - ta - to so - li - o, In re - gis re - gum re - gi - a
 Stol - la ful - get rēx re - - gi - a.

In the same category is the *Mentem meam ledit dolor* on the death of Ramon Berenguer IV (1162).

* *
 *

The teaching of organum in the school of Cordova is another interesting point, for the writer known as Virgilius Cordubensis, in his *Philosophia*, states that scientific music instruction was given in the Cordova schools during the 11th century. This work, which is in the library of the Cathedral of Toledo in a Latin translation, reads: "Istum librum composuit Virgilius Philosophus Cordubensis in arabico, et fuit translatus de Arabico in latinum in civitate Toledana anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo nonagesimo" ("Virgilius Philosophus Cordubensis wrote this book in Arabic, and it was translated from Arabic into Latin in the city of Toledo in the year 1290 A. D."). The document, presumably from the middle of the 14th century, was discovered at Toledo by Father Sarmiento in the 18th century and was copied by F. X. de Santiago Palomares and Father Burriel. The former made two copies, one of which is at Madrid (B.N. MS 6463), dated 1753; the other at the Escorial (J. II, 9). The copy made by Father Burriel is at Madrid, B.N. MSS 13.011 (a. Dd30), ff. 97-154. The text of the codex was published by Gotthold Heine in his *Bibliotheca anecdotorum, seu veterum monumentorum ecclesiasticorum* (Leipzig, 1848), part I, pp. 211 ff. The first to doubt the authenticity of the

book was the Benedictine monk B. G. Feijoo, in 1785.⁸⁰ Soriano-Fuertes, writing in 1855, calls it on one page a work of the 8th century, and on another a work of the 11th century.⁸¹ At any rate, he quotes Virgilius Cordubensis to prove that there was musical instruction in the Christian schools of Cordova.

In 1887, J. F. Rowbotham stated that organum was taught there and he quoted Virgilius Cordubensis as his authority.⁸² But A. Bonilla y Sanmartín, the great Spanish scholar, affirmed in 1908 that the work of Virgilius Cordubensis was a forgery, and that the author of the *Virgilio Cordubensis Philosophia* was probably a cleric of Toledo.⁸³ Before this, Domenico Comparetti had categorically declared that the work was not by an Arabic writer.⁸⁴ Nevertheless, Mitjana⁸⁵ accepts the testimony of Virgilius Cordubensis concerning the teaching of music in Cordova during the Arabian domination, and so does H. G. Farmer in his *Clues for the Arabian Influence on European Musical Theory* (1925). In his more recent work, *Historical Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence* (London, 1930), Farmer discusses the various theories concerning the authenticity or falseness of Virgilius Cordubensis, and shows himself less inclined to accept the authenticity of the *Philosophia*.⁸⁶ The question remains open to further investigation.⁸⁷

At present we do not know if the theories of the *Musica Enchiriadis* of the 9th century were widely studied and if the ideas of Guido d'Arezzo on *organum*, expounded in his *Micrologus*, written about 1030, were well known outside of his own monastery. We know little of what Alcuin accomplished in the time of Charlemagne, or what Gerbert taught at Reims and the monk Oliva at Ripoll did, or what the other musical centers in the monasteries and cathedrals contributed to the art and science of music. It would be extremely interesting to know what music was

⁸⁰ *Teatro Crítico Universal*, VII (Pamplona, 1785), pp. 193 ff. (reprinted in *Biblioteca de Autores españoles*, LVI, Madrid, 1883, pp. 379 ff.).

⁸¹ *Historia de la Música Española* (Madrid, 1855), I, pp. 81 and 88 ff.

⁸² *History of Music*, III, p. 533.

⁸³ *Historia de la Filosofía Española* (Madrid, 1908), I, pp. 310 ff.

⁸⁴ D. Comparetti, *Virgilio nel medio evo* (Florence, 1896), II, pp. 104 ff.

⁸⁵ *La Musique en Espagne*, p. 1921.

⁸⁶ Cf. Farmer, *op. cit.*, p. 106, and pp. 333 ff.

⁸⁷ The passage in which "Virgilius Cordubensis" refers to the teaching of organum is quoted by H. Anglès, *El Codex Musical de las Huelgas* (Barcelona, 1931), I, pp. 35-36.

taught in the higher schools called *medrazas* at Toledo, Cordova and Seville; Ribera has uncovered much information about the other sciences.⁸⁸

Our data about the teaching of polyphonic music at Paris and Oxford, etc., is later than that of the supposed Virgilius Cordubensis. The case of Gerardus of Micy (Orleans), who was brought to Spain by Bishop Bernard of Toledo (1086-1124), refers only to the teaching of Gregorian chant in the Toledan church, when the Mozarabic chant was suppressed in the 11th century.⁸⁹ Of great importance, however, was Bernard de Sédillac, a monk of Cluny, who was at first abbot of Sagun and then archbishop of Toledo (1096). Returning from the Crusades, he passed through France at the express orders of Pope Urban II and gathered a following of distinguished clergy who did much to revivify the spiritual life of his diocese in Spain. Bernard was the first to cause children to sing alternately with the chant of the capitulars in the cathedral of Toledo.⁹⁰ The above-mentioned Gerardus is perhaps Giraldus de Moissac, later bishop of Braga and eventually canonized.⁹¹ Moissac was the monastery that had close musical relations with Ripoll, San Juan de la Peña, and San Millán de la Cogolla.⁹²

We come next to the teaching of organum at Salamanca. The chair of music in the university there was established by Alfonso the Wise (1252-1284), king of Castile and of León. At that time the noted universities where music was studied scientifically were Paris and Oxford; we know little about Bologna. Alfonso the Wise included music in the quadrivium in the year 1254, adding: "There shall be a *maestro en órgano* and I will give him 50 *maravedís* each year".⁹³ By "*maestro en órgano*", organum in the sense of the science of discant was meant. This same chair of music at Salamanca was occupied three centuries later by the famous theorist Bartolomé Ramos de Pareja (b. 1440),⁹⁴ and subsequently by Francisco de Salinas (1513-1590).⁹⁵ Particularly interesting are

⁸⁸ J. Ribera, *La enseñanza de los musulmanes españoles* (in his *Disertaciones y Opúsculos*, Madrid, 1928, I, pp. 229 ff.).

⁸⁹ E. Nikel, *Geschichte der katholischen Kirchenmusik* (1908), I, 177.

⁹⁰ Vallejo, *Historia de la Música en Toledo*, published by Serrano in *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* of the Ayuntamiento de Madrid (1907), XVI, p. 227.

⁹¹ Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid*, II, p. 586.

⁹² H. Anglès, *La Musique en Catalogne*.

⁹³ Cf. Chacón, *Historia de la Universidad de Salamanca*, VII, ch. XIII.

⁹⁴ J. Wolf, *Musica Practica Bartolomei Rami de Pareia* (Leipzig, 1901).

⁹⁵ J. B. Trend, in *Music and Letters* (Jan., 1927).

the remarks of Juan Gil de Zamora, preceptor of Sancho IV, who in his *Ars Musice* (chapter XV) tells us about instruments and refers especially to the organ: "... et hoc solo musico instrumento utitur ecclesia in diversis cantibus, et in prosis, in sequentiis et in hymnis, propter abusum histrionum, eiectis aliis communiter instrumentis" ("... and the church uses only this instrument in its various chants, in the proses, the sequences and the hymns, for all other instruments have been cast wholly forth because of their use by actors").⁹⁶ Zamora also composed hymns and proses, among others a *Virga de Jesse prodiit* preserved in a 14th-century codex (Madrid B.N., Bb. 154).

The introduction of the organ into the churches of the peninsula has yet to be studied. The Biblioteca Colombina in Seville has an anonymous 18th-century MS⁹⁷ which states that the use of the organ in churches was introduced in 658 but without specifically mentioning Spain. Moreover, we do not know the source of this statement, any more than we do that of Canon Vallejo of Toledo, who at the beginning of the 19th century said that the organ was used in the time of the Goths (in his *Historia de la Música en Toledo*, already cited). St. Isidore of Seville was aware of the existence of the organ,⁹⁸ but he says nothing about its use in church. It would be interesting to know to what time and to which organs Ramos de Pareja refers when he writes, "In Hispania vero nostra antiqua monochorda et etiam organa in *c* gravi reperimus incipisse" ("In Spain, indeed, we find that our old monochords and organs in low *c* have been revived").⁹⁹ In France, the first church organ was used in 872 at the Abbey of Saint-Savin, in Poitou, according to Gastoué.¹⁰⁰ The oldest known document about the use of the organ within the Hispanic church is the dedication act of the church in the monastery of Saint Benet de Bages, in 972.¹⁰¹ Research concerning the organ within the Mozarabic Church, has so far proved fruitless.¹⁰²

⁹⁶ Gerbert, *Scriptores*, II, p. 388.

⁹⁷ Signat. Varios, Tomo 4º, *Efemérides o computación de fechas célebres desde el Año de la Natividad de N. S. Jesucristo hasta 1563*, nº 11, f. 2.

⁹⁸ *Etymologiarum*, lib. III, Cap. XXI (Migne, 82, col. 166).

⁹⁹ J. Wolf, *Musica Practica Bartolomei Rami de Pareja*, p. 37.

¹⁰⁰ *L'Orgue en France* (Paris, 1924), p. 33.

¹⁰¹ *Marca Hispanica*, p. 898.

¹⁰² Gómez Moreno, *Iglesias Mozárabes, Arte Español de los siglos IX a XI* (Madrid, 1919).

Among the miniatures of the *Beatus* and other codices of the 9th and 11th centuries, so far examined, we have found no example of the organ, in spite of the fact that so many instruments are depicted. The same conclusion results from an examination of portals, and Romanesque timpani, capitals of cloisters, mural paintings, etc. However, it would be unwise to conclude that organs were never used in Hispanic churches from the 9th to the 12th century.¹⁰⁸ For instance, the words

"Ad laudem illic regis sonant organa
Fragrantque campi variis odoribus"

("In praise of this king the organs sound,
and the fields are fragrant with varied odors"),

are from the fragment of a hymn, in the Mozarabic liturgy, sung to St. Sebastian, which begins, "Sebastiani Martyris sollemne est, Festum beati". This was published by Drevés in *Analecta hymnica*, 27, n° 166, transcribed from the Codex of Madrid, B.N. MSS 1005 (H h 60).

Modern historians of medieval music do not fully understand the mention made of musical instruments in the medieval hymns and sequences. The words of the poets frequently indicated a symbolical and metaphysical nomenclature of instruments, but this is not always true. Visigothic hymnody knew and cited different musical instruments used to celebrate Christian marriages, as can be seen in the *Carmen de nubentibus*. The Mozarabic hymnody also cited the organ and other instruments, in describing the spiritual *epithalamia* of the martyr saints of the Oriental church. Such is the case, for example, in the hymn for St. Julian and St. Basilissa, which is found in a Visigothic Codex of the 10th century, at Madrid, B.N. MSS 1005 (H h 60), formerly at Toledo 35-1, and at the Academia de la Historia of Madrid, in a Mozarabic breviary of the 11th century from San Millán de la Cogolla.¹⁰⁴

Our information about the use of the organ as a secular instrument is more conclusive. During the reign of Almanzor at Cordova in the 10th century, for instance, it was a current thing for a well educated woman to play different musical instruments,

¹⁰⁸ Cf. A. G. Hill, *Mediaeval Organs in Spain*, in *Sammelbände der IMG* (1912-13), XIV, pp. 487 ff.

¹⁰⁴ Migne, *P.L.*, 86, 1033; also *Analecta hymnica*, 27, n° 141.

among them the organ, in order to please her husband.¹⁰⁵ It is not known whether the *Versus ad pueros*, of the year 1028, from the Codex 44 of San Millán de la Cogolla, now at the Academia de la Historia in Madrid, refers to the use of the secular or the religious organ.¹⁰⁶

We know more about other medieval instruments used in Spain. For instance, the foundation and dotation letter of the monastery of Saint Pere de Soto at Casares, dated May 7, 1040, mentions, besides books, a *citara*. This curious fact is worth remembering.¹⁰⁷ Many instruments are also found in the *Beatus* and other ancient codices. Undoubtedly the artists who painted them were inspired by both contemporary secular and religious musical practice. The portal of the Gloria of Santiago de Compostela, of Ripoll and others we could mention, depict the use of instruments, at least in extraliturgical functions. If we go to the 13th century, the miniatures of the Cantigas of Alfonso X of Castile, as well as other Hispanic codices, carry the richest graphic material in Europe for the study of musical instruments of the Middle Ages.¹⁰⁸

Few references to musical instruments within the medieval hymnody and the hymns of the Mozarabic liturgy have been found. The only phrases of the authors of such hymns that refer to songs of praise, of happiness, of festivals for specific days, are almost always confined to vocal chant. An exceptional case, for the feast of St. John the Baptist (A H 27, No. 134 and 135), reads "Clange lyra, Zachariam." To sum up, musical instruments play a more important part than has been believed up to the present time and the fact that the sequences make so many references to the different instruments, such as, "organa," "lira," "cymbala" and "cithara," leads one to the conclusion that they must have been used somehow within the church in those times.

Besides documents, miniatures, mural paintings, capitals, etc., early Castilian literature also reflects the musical culture of the Hispanic peoples. The *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*, by Gonzalo Berceo, of the 13th century, uses the word *organar* in the sense of

¹⁰⁵ J. Ribera, *La Música de las Cántigas*, p. 61.

¹⁰⁶ The verses are quoted by J. Amador de los Ríos, *Historia crítica de la literatura española*, II, pp. 339 ff.; also by H. Anglès, *El Codex Musical de las Huelgas*, I, 42.

¹⁰⁷ L. Serrano, *Cartulario de San Vicente de Oviedo* (Madrid, 1929), p. 34.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. F. Aznar, *Indumentaria Española* (Madrid, 1880); E. Serrano Fatigati, *Instrumentos músicos en las miniaturas de los códices españoles* (Madrid, 1901); J. Ribera, *La Música de las Cantigas*; Menéndez Pidal, *Poesía juglaresca y juglares*.

singing with different voices. The *Libro de Alexandro*, the *Poema de Alfonso XI*, written to celebrate his marriage in 1328, and the *Libro de Buen Amor* of the Archpriest of Hita (Juan Ruiz), all mention many kinds of instruments, with descriptions of festivals in which they are used.

In regard to polyphony within the Hispanic churches, the documents show nothing before the 12th century. However, it should not be concluded that the Mozarabic liturgy had none. That "Joanes presbiter," who was "*primicerius et cantor maior*" in the palace of Ferdinand I of León and Asturias about the year 1053, must have been able to sing polyphonically with his companion cantors of the chapel.¹⁰⁹ The phrase of Bishop Lucas de Túy, author of *Chronicon Mundi*, throws some light upon the subject; in speaking of his contemporary, Alfonso XIII of León (d. 1230), he writes: "Adefonsus rex Legionis cum esset Catholicus habebat secum clericos, qui *modulatis vocibus quotidie coram ipso divinum officium peragebant*."¹¹⁰ This singing of the clergy "*modulatis vocibus*" surely refers not only to plainsong, but also to polyphonic singing.

Santiago de Compostela, the object of European pilgrimages, the schools of Toledo and Burgos in Castile, and of Ripoll, Tortosa and the Scala Dei in Catalonia, are the important centers for early Spanish polyphony. Polyphony in the Cathedral of Compostela, in the 12th century, is definitely mentioned in the Codex Calixtinus, and this Galician center, like those of Catalonia, was closely connected with St. Martial de Limoges.¹¹¹ The Codex de las Huelgas can be studied for the school of Burgos. As for Toledo, we know that in the 12th century there was a highly developed school of Gregorian chant under the influence of French monks, and its school of copyists, the most important in the peninsula and one of the best in all Europe, presupposes an abundance of material in that city. Samples of conductus, motets and organa of the 13th

¹⁰⁹ Serrano, *Cartulario de San Vicente de Oviedo* (Madrid, 1929), p. 28. Also *España Sagrada*, 38, p. 305.

¹¹⁰ ("Alfonso, the King of León, as he was a Catholic, had with him clerics who every day with modulated voices went through divine office in his presence"). Cf. Julio Puyol, *Crónica de España, por Lucas, Obispo de Túy* (Madrid, 1926), p. 409.

¹¹¹ Concerning the *Codex Calixtinus*, see F. Olmeda, *Memoria de un Viaje a Santiago de Galicia, o Examen crítico-musical del códice del Papa Calixto II, perteneciente al Archivo de la Catedral de Santiago de Compostela* (Burgos, 1895). Also H. Anglès, *El Codex Musical de Las Huelgas*, I, pp. 59-71, and Peter Wagner, *Die Gesänge der Jacobusliturgie zu Santiago de Compostela*, 1931.

century in the Notre Dame style prove Toledo to have been one of the great schools of the Middle Ages.

According to what Vallejo noted (at the beginning of the 19th century), figured chant, or *canto de órgano*, was being sung in the cathedral of Toledo in the middle of the 13th century. We are firmly convinced that polyphonic music was cultivated in the Cathedral of Toledo contemporaneously with the school of Notre Dame de Paris.¹¹²

The chapel of Alfonso the Wise (the lover of music and friend of troubadours) had a polyphonic school equal to that of St. Louis in France. The data available about the chapel of Sancho IV, son of Alfonso X and Violanta of Aragon, though meager, show that the importance of polyphonic music in Castile was greater than has heretofore been supposed.

We have already mentioned the chair of music at Salamanca, reorganized by Alfonso X in 1254, with its "maestro en órgano", which can be interpreted as signifying the teaching of organum. Alfonso VIII (1158-1214), was the founder of the University of Palencia, where music also seems to have been given an important place. According to the *Estoria de España* of Alfonso the Wise, Alfonso VIII "*envió por sabios a Francia et a Lombardia . . . et tomó maestros de todas las sciencias et ayuntolos en Palencia. . .*"¹¹³ It may be supposed that "todas las sciencias" included the theory of music.

The co-existence of Jews and Saracens with Christians, in the 13th and 14th centuries, must have caused an important musical and artistic interchange. Historical documents often indicate such interrelations principally at the court of the kings of Aragon and Castile. The council of Valladolid in the year 1322, stated in the canon XXII, *De Judaeis et Sarracensis*, that it was a blasphemy for the Christians to permit the presence of the Jews and Saracens in the sacred acts of the Christian liturgical cult. In this same canon the *vigilias nocturnes* were prohibited, on the ground that the presence of "infidels" led to an unseemly tumult—"quod tumul-

¹¹² The question of music in the Cathedral of Toledo has not been studied as thoroughly as it deserves. Admittedly, the question is a difficult and complex one, though of the greatest importance for Spanish musical culture in the 12th-15th centuries.

¹¹³ "caused learned men to be sent from France and Lombardy, . . . and took masters in all the sciences, and assembled them in Palencia."

tum ibi faciunt suis vocibus vel quibus libet instrumentis" ("because they make there a tumult with their voices as with all kinds of instruments"). It would be of great interest to find a small fragment of this instrumental or vocal music, which the Jews and the Saracens executed in these vigils. But the only composition that we know as coming from the peninsular Jews is of the 15th century, and the music fundamentally resembles the French Chansons of that period.¹¹⁴



The study of 13th-century Spanish musical culture would not be complete without mention of the *Cantigas de Santa María*, of Alfonso X of Castile, called "the Wise" (1252-1282). The only codices preserved are those of Toledo, now in Madrid (B.N. MS 10069) with 128 melodies, the T j.b. of the Escorial with 193, and the J.b. 2 (codex princeps) also of the Escorial, with 417 settings.

Julián Ribera maintained that the melodies of the *Cantigas* came from Hispano-Arabic sources. According to him, these melodies represent the musical lyric of Andalusia in the Middle Ages. He also maintained that the Provençal troubadours, the French trouvères and the German Minnesinger derived their musical repertory from Arabic Spain. We do not pretend to enter into the sources of the rhythmic and melodic theories of the learned Arabist—theories shared neither by musicologists nor by eminent Romanic philologists. However, when the melodic construction of some of the *Cantigas* is analyzed, it is found that such melodic types existed in much more ancient religious melodies, and the musical theories of Ribera are seen to be without foundation.

The musical construction of the *Cantigas* is generally the same as that of the French *virelais*, of which there are so many examples among the Italian *Laudi* as well as some in the *Llibre vermell* of Montserrat, resembling also the melodic structure of our Catalan popular *goigs*. Spanke also demonstrates that some texts of the *Cantigas* are modeled on the *rondeau*.¹¹⁵ Moreover, Spanke has fol-

¹¹⁴ Cf. H. Anglès, *El "Chansonnier français" de la Colombina de Sevilla*, in *Estudis Universitaris Catalans* (1929), XIV, 2, pp. 256 ff.

¹¹⁵ Spanke, *Die Theorie Riberas über Zusammenhänge zwischen frühromanischen Strophformen und andalusisch-arabischer Lyrik des Mittelalters*, in *Volkstum und Kultur der Romanen*, III, pp. 258-278.

lowed the evolution of these *virelais* and *rondeaux*, comparing the texts of Abelard, Illarius, and the liturgical drama of St. Martial, and he traces the *rondeau* form in France as early as the beginning of the 12th century. He concludes that the Latin *conductus*, with the construction of the *virelai*, could be the "bridge" leading to the *Cantigas*. Indeed, of the three Latin *conductus* of Ripoll that he used, two—the only ones preserved with music—have the musical form of the *virelai*. The MS of Paris, B.N. lat. 5132, from Ripoll, is of the 12th-13th centuries. But while the *Salve, virgo, regia* of f. 108 and the *Cedit frigus hiemale* of f. 108' were written in after the MS was first copied, say at the beginning of the 13th century, the music is surely prior to the production of the repertory of the *Cantigas de Santa María*. Spanke goes farther and finds such a construction in Latin texts of the beginning of the 12th century, coming from St. Martial de Limoges, with which Ripoll was at the time in close communication.

As an example we quote a *virelai* of Ripoll with Latin text, and following, a *Cantiga* of Santa María. Actually the *conductus* of Ripoll is in two voices, but the discant does not interest us for present purposes. The original melody is in the lower voice and shows perfectly that the musical form of many of the *Cantigas* existed at Ripoll a century earlier. Spanke supposes that if we search the medieval codices in the peninsula, we shall find other Latin poems constructed in like manner. For the time being, however, the oldest examples are found at Ripoll. The melody that we transcribe from Ripoll does not have the fineness of many of the *Cantigas*. It is taken from a song for the Resurrection of Christ and the text was published by E. du Méril in *Poésies populaires latines du moyen âge* (Paris, 1843; p. 52). It was later included in *Analecta hymnica*, vol. 45b, n° 39, and by L. Nicolau d'Olwer in *Escola poètica de Ripoll in els segles X-XIII*, in the *Anuari de l'Institut d'Estudis Catalans*, VI, 1915-1920, p. 77. It is n° 2709 of Chevalier.

Ex. 2



es - ti - ua - le In - uen - tus le - ta - tur. Ec - ce, tem - pus
est uer - na - le, Quo per li - gnum tri - um - pha - le,
In - ter li - gna nul - lum ta - le, Ge - nus ho - mi -
num mor - ta - le Mor - te li - be - ra - tur.

If this melody is compared with the Easter chant of the Codex of Toledo (now in Madrid, B.N. MSS 10069, f. 146), the musical structure is found to be the same: The refrain, the strophe sung by the first two voices with the same melody (different from the refrain) and the coda with two verses that have a melody identical with that of the refrain, and ending with the initial refrain. This *Cantiga*, known through the MS of Toledo, appears with mensural-modal notation. The melody of Ripoll has square notation. It has the form of the French *virelai*, which the Provençals call a *dansa*, and the Italians a *ballata*.¹¹⁶

Ex. 3

R. A - le - gri - a, a - le - gri - a, fa - ca - mos iá to - da vi - a.
Mui grand'a - le - gri - a fa - zer de - ve - mos; ca Deus quis mor - rer por
nos et a mor - te ven - cer mor - ren - do, que nos ven - ci - a.

¹¹⁶ The text was published by the Marqués de Valmar, *Cantigas de Santa María*, II, pp. 591 ff.; by J. Ribera, *La Música de las Cantigas*, n° 110, reproduced and transcribed from the Toledo MS; H. Anglès, *Les "Cantigas" del rei Anfós el Savi*, reprinted from the *Vida Cristiana*, XIV, 1927, p. 58. See also P. Aubry, *Iter Hispanicum* (Paris, 1908), pp. 40 ff., and H. Anglès, *Catàleg dels Manuscrits Musicals de la Col·lecció Pedrell* (Barcelona, 1921), p. 9.

This melodic structure, AB CCABAB, predominates in the *Cantigas*. The structure with the vernacular text, and with music, is found about 1200. Spanke says that such melodies with Latin texts are found about 1100. There are other *Cantigas* with different constructions, of course.

The following *Cantiga* describes a legend of Montserrat. It is the *Cantiga* N^o LII of the j.b.2, the *Codex princeps* of the Escorial, and N^o LXVI of the MS of Toledo. Here, as with the previous example, we find the mixed modal rhythm characteristic of the *Cantigas of Santa María*, now presented entirely with the *first anacroustic mode*. The musical transcription published here was made in collaboration with Ludwig.¹¹⁷

Ex. 4

8. Mui gran de - reit' e das bes - tias o - be - de - cer a

San - ta Ma - ri - a de que Deus quis na - cer. E

d'est' un mi - ra - gre, se Deus m'an - par, mui fre - mo - so vos

quer o - ra con - tar que qui - so mui grand' a glo - ri - o -

sa mos - trar: oy - de - mi - o, se ou - ça - des pra - zer.

As an example of a *Cantiga* with the form of the *rondeau*, we have the following:

¹¹⁷ For the text, see Valmar, *op. cit.*, I, N^o 52, and G. M. Sunyol, *Cantigas de Montserrat del rei Anfós X, dit el Savi*, in the *Analecta Montserratensia* (1922), v, pp. 380 ff.

Ex. 5

8 B. San - ta Ma - ri - a va - led ay Sen - nor e a - cou - red a vos

so tro - ba - dor que mal - le vay. *Fine* A tan gran mal e a san - ta Ma - ri - a, va -

tan gran do - lor co - mo sofr' es - te vos - so lo - a - dor, led' ay Sen - nor san - ta Ma - ri - a, va - led' ay Sen - nor,

e sa - e ja se vos en pra - zer for Do que diz ay. *D. C. al Fine*

Its musical structure is simply ABC AAA (A)BC ABC.¹¹⁸ The MS clearly demonstrates the third rhythmic mode; even though some of the notes are written with plicas, they are not to be interpreted that way. (In the above example, each note "plicated" in the original but transcribed without embellishment is marked +.) Artistically the melodies of the *Cantigas* can compete with the best musical settings of the French and Provençal troubadours. A nation that has produced the music of the *Cantigas de Santa María* may well merit the attention and admiration of historians of medieval music.

¹¹⁸ For the text, see Valmar, *op. cit.*, II, No 279, and Ribera, No. 122. Spanke speaks of the text of this *Cantiga* in *Volkstum und Kultur der Romanen*, III, p. 271.

THE ZNAMENNY CHANT OF THE RUSSIAN CHURCH

Part III

By ALFRED J. SWAN

IV. THE NOTATIONS OF MEDIAEVAL RUSSIAN CHURCH MUSIC

Smoliensky has definitely assured us¹ that "the song-books from the 15th century on contain the whole systematized but not as yet full developed znamenny alphabet that is in use to the present day (among the Old Believers) and do not contain any unreadable znamiona that are to be found in older monuments—among them, the Voskressensky Hirmologion. Hence it is possible to read the song-books of the 15th century with sufficient fluency and observe in the subsequent centuries only a development of details and liturgical peculiarities, for the bulk of our church music is very accurately preserved from the 15th century." Barring the old manuscripts themselves, which are scattered in various Russian libraries and are accessible only with the greatest difficulty,² we can go to the Atlas compiled by Metallov³ and therein study all the phases of the znamenny notation. The fully readable 15th-century alphabet referred to by Smoliensky can be seen there on tables 76 to 85. It is very unlike the alphabet of the 12th century, appearing on tables 25 to 28, the similarity of which to the so-called Early Byzantine notation (*ca.* 950-1200)⁴ has been shown by Preobrashensky.⁵ Hence we may assume that an adaptation of the Byzantine neumes to Russian needs proceeded parallel with the adaptation of the melodies. And, while one may argue about the length of time during which the Russians were

¹ P. 33 in his edition of Mezenets's *Azbuka*.

² The numeration of the codices found in this article is the old one. It was prepared by Smoliensky, Volkov, and Findeisen. The fate of the pre-war libraries is not sufficiently well known. Collections have been re-named and partly reorganized. There is no up to date catalogue.


³ V. M. Metallov, *Russkaya semiographia*, Moscow, 1912.



⁴ Tillyard, "Handbook of the Middle Byzantine musical notation", p. 14.

⁵ See p. 235, footnote 12, in the April 1940 issue of this magazine.

content to sing chants imported from abroad and the point at which they began to show some originality, argument need not be wasted in the matter of the notations where we have before us clearly visible written documents.

By collating the writing we cannot fail to establish that the Russians showed a certain independence even at a stage when the bulk of the neumes were more or less identical with the Byzantine. The Byzantine canticles bear at the beginning not only the indication of the mode, but also a signature, called the *martyria*

(μαρτυρία) to enable the singer to find his initial tone, e.g. 

While preserving the indication of the mode (glas), the Russians did away with the *martyria* and proceeded direct to the canticle itself. Was the initial neume or *znamia* sufficient for them to find the right note at the opening, or did they have some other way of indicating it that was not included in the notation? This we cannot answer, since the earliest *znamenny* manuscripts are practically illegible; yet the fact of the absence of the *martyriai* remains. Looking at tables 3 and 5 in Metallov's Atlas (from the Cod. 142 of the Synodal Press, which Metallov lists as a Kiev document of the late 11th century)⁶ we are confronted with a rather meager system of signs. The most frequent of the signs is  which is clearly the equivalent of the Byzantine Ison  —the sign for the repetition of a note.⁷ From this the conclusion may be ventured that we are here dealing with a recitative type of singing, devoid of vocalises or any elaborate delineation of the melody. A greater variety of signs is found in the manuscripts definitely assigned to the 12th century. But though the handwriting varies with the type and locality⁸ of the manuscripts, there is no radical change in the notation until we come to the 15th century (illustrated by the above-mentioned tables 76 to 85). Here the signs assume a flat, horizontal character and seem to cover the text fairly closely. Up to this point Metallov's Atlas is quite indispensable to the western student of the *znamenny* chant, but from the 16th

⁶ Volkov in *Statisticheskaya svédeniya o sohranivshihssya dréve-rússkih kníгах XI-XIV v.*, St. Petersburg, 1897, argues in favor of Novgorod and the 12th century.

⁷ Cf. Tillyard, *Handbook*, p. 19.

⁸ They have been assigned, on the strength of some peculiarities of speech, to places sometimes very far from each other, e.g. Kiev, Novgorod, Smolensk, Pereyaslavl.

century on a certain number of song-books is to be found outside Russia.⁹ The latest manuscripts are those with the Shaidurov marks and the *priznaki* of Mezenets, and it is these that are still used by the Old Believers.

Concerning the exactness and expressiveness of the Russian *znamiona* two opposite opinions have been advanced. Preobrazhensky claims¹⁰ that they designated both pitch and duration of sound only very approximately, and adduces the clumsy descriptions of them in the contemporary manuals. On the other hand, Bortniansky¹¹ had drawn up a whole project of the printing of the old books with the *znamenny* notation, in which he said that "the old notes, i.e. *znamiona*, by their position and outline, determine the proper place for the melody without any ambiguity", and this is only a restatement of what we find in Mezenets's *Azbuka*: "For us, Great Russians, who have a direct knowledge of the *znamenny* glassy, and the measure, force, fraction, and every nuance of the various vocalises (*litsa*) and embellishments (*razvody*) in them, there is no need whatever for any staff-notation."¹² Smoliensky knew the *znamenny* notation perfectly¹³ and even corrected the transcriptions of the 18th century. Knowledge of the subject, unfortunately, has not been cultivated, especially since the last war, but there is no reason why anyone should not master the work of Mezenets or the "Key" (*kliuch*) of Tikhon Makariievsky,¹⁴ or observe the practice of the Old Believers. From this there would only be one further step towards a patient investigation of the older manuscripts.

When work on the *znamenny* books of the later periods is

⁹ I have had an opportunity to examine and make photographs of a few *sticheraria* of the 16th century, belonging to the collection of the Pechory Monastery.

¹⁰ In *Kultovaya Musika*, p. 27.

¹¹ This project of Bortniansky (1752-1826) is quoted by Smoliensky in his edition of Mezenets.

¹² Mezenets, *Azbuka znamennavo penya*.

¹³ He held that the transcriptions were full of errors and offered revised readings of the lines given by Mezenets in illustration of the *Azbuka* (see his Tables *ibid.*). Potulov, on the other hand, who made a very careful study of the actual singing of the Old Believers and compared it with the music found in the transcribed books, asserted with vigor that the latter were completely reliable. (See his harmonizations of the *znamenny* chant.) It would seem that Smoliensky, in his quest of purity, exaggerated the situation. His own corrections pertain to details rather than to the main outline and flow of melody.

¹⁴ Tikhon Makariievsky, born in Nishny-Novgorod, was still alive in 1706. A complete copy of his "Kliuch", which is a "key" to the *znamiona*, is in the library of the Academy of Science in Petrograd (cf. Findeisen).

resumed on a larger scale, the demestvenny manuscripts will undoubtedly also receive a good deal of attention. So far very little is known about the demestvenny alphabet, which, however, is clearly a derivation of the znamenny. The so-called Kazan znamia seems to be comparatively unimportant. But there is yet another notation found in five extant manuscripts of the pre-Mongol period (11th-12th centuries) that presents a special problem in its complete detachment from anything known, its bewildering look, and sudden disappearance: the so-called *kondakarian* notation. Excerpts from the above manuscripts containing this notation may be studied in Metallov's Atlas, as well as in other reproductions (see the list in the next chapter). The manuscripts in question are kondakaria—collections of kondakia, kontakia (kondaki). They all fall between the end of the 11th and the beginning of the 13th century, after which time the notation crops up only in separate lines scattered in the znamenny manuscripts, and soon disappears altogether. That the kondakarian notation was not a Russian invention is vouched for by the following facts:

(a) In the text underneath it Greek words and phrases occur in plenty: τῇ οἰκουμένῃ, ὁ Θεὸς μου, ἐν ὅλῃ καρδίᾳ μου, δόξα σοὶ ὁ Θεός, etc. The words λέγε and εἰπε are inserted in the manner of interjections;

(b) There are traces not only of martyriai (never found in the znamenny manuscripts), but also of the syllables *neagie*, *anagia*, etc., which appear to be a remnant of Byzantine melodic patterns indicating the echos and are called *epechemata*.¹⁵

That this notation could not have been very popular or destined to further development in Russia, is clear from its being preserved in only five out of twenty-six extant monumenta of the pre-Mongol period, further by the deliberate erasure of the martyriai (in Cod. 142—the Ustav with the Kondakarium of the Synodal Press) by the Russian copyists, and by its sudden disappearance. But if it hails from Byzantium, why is it not found in any of the known Byzantine codices? For want of any definite clues, and pending further research, let me venture the following explanation.

The Byzantine historians of the 11th-12th centuries are fairly unanimous in their condemnation of a certain type of music in

¹⁵ Tillyard, Handbook, p. 31.

Constantinople. Michael Psellus (*ca.* 1050) deals chiefly with secular music and deplures its decline. George Cedrenus in his chronicle¹⁶ accuses the patriarch Theophylactus, who flourished at the time of the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitos (912-959) of having appointed a domestikos (choir-master) who taught the singers "*diabolicas istas saltationes, obscuras vociferationes, cantilenasque*". Zonaras (early 12th century) likewise refers to the cultivation of a mannered, voluptuous, and theatrical type of singing by modern singers.¹⁷ Since this type of singing was forbidden by the statutes, it may never have been included in any Byzantine written documents. Now the following may have occurred:

The "Stepennaya Kniga",¹⁸ which is, on the whole, an unreliable document, makes this entry under the year 1053:

Because of the faith of the Christ-loving Yaroslav [the Grand Duke of Kiev at the time] there came to him from Tsargrad [Constantinople] three Greek singers with their families. And from that time there began in Russian lands an angel-like singing in the 8 glassy, and especially a tripartite sweet harmonization (*sladkoglassovaniye*) and the most beautiful demestvenny singing to the eternal glory of the Lord . . .

That the 16th-century authors of the "Stepennaya Kniga" were quite ignorant and confused in musical matters, is not surprising. The types of singing enumerated above were those generally known in their time.¹⁹ The attribution of the origin of those types to singers who had come to Russia five hundred years earlier is one of the glaring lapses for which the "Stepennaya Kniga" is famous. But, although we may smile at the association of Byzantine singers of the 11th century with "tripartite singing", the fact of their arrival in Russia need not necessarily be questioned.²⁰

¹⁶ Γεώργιου τοῦ Κεδρηνίου Συνόψις Ἱστορίων.

¹⁷ See an unidentified passage in Metallov, *Bohoslusbénnoye pénye rússkoy tsérkvi*, 1908.

¹⁸ A Moscow document of the 16th century, published in 1775. Its principal authors—the metropolitans Cyprianus and Makary—group the events according to the genealogy (*stepen*, *stepennaya*) of the rulers of Russia, and their main object is to glorify the house of the Rurikovichs. It may lean on some chronicles that are lost, but nevertheless much of its testimony has been stamped as fictitious.

¹⁹ See V. V. Stassov, "A Note on the Demestvenny and Tripartite Singing" (Coll. Works vol. III, p. 107), 1865.


²⁰ It is strange to observe the credulity of all Russian historians of church music who make this passage in the "Stepennaya Kniga" the foundation of their narrative about the introduction of church singing in Russia. Only Stassov (in the above note) and Findeisen in his "Ocherki" point to its glaring inconsistencies.

Greek singers probably did arrive, and in plenty, in those times, and the special reference in the chronicles to those three singers shows them to have been men of fame and authority. The kondakarian notation appears in Russia shortly after 1053. Could not those three Greek singers by some chance have been of the type condemned by the Byzantine historians, singers who decided to seek their fortune in a land where their tricks would be novel, sensational, and perhaps even lucrative? Invested with grandeur and authority, these Byzantine domestikoi would have had no great difficulty in getting their "voluptuous and theatrical songs"²¹ into some of the Russian kondakaria. When about to write down what in Constantinople they had dared to transmit only by word of mouth, or by cheironomy,²² they may have found all existing notations unsuited to their songs. So they may have set about inventing a hybrid and artificial alphabet, borrowing signs from all they could lay their hands on. Hence perhaps also the strangely unreal look of the kondakarian notation?

V. A DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE PRE-MONGOL PERIOD (988-1240)

The following list and description of the manuscripts of the pre-Mongol period is a compendium of all such lists and descriptions as are scattered in Metallov,²³ Smoliensky,²⁴ Findeisen²⁵ and Volkov.²⁶ The numeration is entirely the one used by these authors. Its aim is to facilitate the identification of the manuscripts for the future research worker and to make a beginning, at least, of a more unified catalogue of all znamenny and other Russian chant manuscripts. Since future palaeographic work will have to be done, for the most part precisely on the twenty-six monuments listed below, I have deemed it unpractical, in a treatise as

²¹ The text of the kondaki and other canticles in the kondakarian notation is interrupted by weird interjections that sound like diabolical laughter (ha-ha-ha, he-he-he, hi-hi-hi). The *diabolicae saltationes* and *obscurae vociferationes* of Cedrenus?

²² A movement of the choir-master's hand to indicate the rise and fall of the melody, as an aid to the memory of the singers. Some signs in the kondakarian notation are obviously graphic interpretations of such movement, e.g. 

These signs appear above the actual neumes.

²³ Metallov, *Boboslužebnoye pénye rússkoi tsérkvi*, 1908.

²⁴ Smoliensky, Review of the above in *Otchióty Académii Naúk* for 1909.

²⁵ Findeisen, *Ocherki po istorii músiki v Rossií*, 1928, Vol. I.

²⁶ Volkov, *Statistichskiya svédénia*, St. Petersburg, 1897.

limited in bulk as this, to continue the listing into the later centuries. There is little material extant from the later 13th and 14th centuries. The books of the 15th century have already been deciphered (Smoliensky), and from then on the number of manuscripts becomes very great. They have been listed in part,²⁷ but without order or system. With their present redistribution in Russia much of the work will have to be redone.

1. *The Lavrsky Kondakarium*, 115 p., library of the Troitse-Sergievsky Monastery (Lavra) Cod. 23. Metallov places it at the end of the 12th century, while Undolsky favors the beginning of that century. It belongs to a northern district, but not Novgorod. Contains (1) the daily kontakia (kontakia) for the whole year, (2) the holiday kontakia up to Trinity Sunday, (3) the Sunday kontakia, (4) kontakia of the 8 glassy, (5) the katabases (katavasiyi)—canticles sung by both choirs in the center of the church—for the holidays, (6) kanones of 3 odes (tripesnietsy). The notation is throughout the kondakarian. Specimen pages in Undolsky, *Zamechánya dliá istórii tserkóvnavo pénya*, 1846.
2. *The Uspensky Kondakarium*, 204 p., library of the Moscow Uspensky Cathedral Cod. 9, dated 1207 A.D., of northern origin (Suzdal or Vladimir). Contains 143 kontakia, partly automela, partly prosomoia (na podóben). Notation throughout kondakarian.
3. *The Synodal Kondakarium*, 112 p., Moscow Synodal Library Cod. 777, probably early 13th century. Likewise of northern origin (Suzdal or Vladimir). Contains 99 kontakia in kondakarian notation.
4. *The Statute with the Kondakarium*, 126 p., Moscow Synodal Press (Tipográphia), Cod. 142 (Metallov), Cod. 285 (Volkov). Metallov would have us believe that it is a Kiev monument of the end of the 11th century. But Volkov and Lissitsin argue in favor of Novgorod and the 12th century. Specimen pages in Metallov's Atlas, tables 2-5. Contains a series of rules and regulations of monastic life, and chants with musical notation. In the first part there are 132 kontakia, 42 of which have the melody above them in kondakarian notation. In the second part there is only one canticle in this obscure notation—the psalm verse, "Let every thing that hath breath praise the Lord"—, the rest being written in what in its essentials is the later znamenny notation.
5. *The Blagoveshtensky Kondakarium*, 126 p., State (late Imperial) Public Library Cod. Q.I 32 (Findeisen). Place of origin: Novgorod

²⁷ A partial list is contained in Allemanov, *K vostonovléniu tserkóvno-pésheskoy stariny*. See, among others, K. Nievostrúyev: *Opisánye slavianskikh rukópisei Mosk. Synod. Biblióteki*, Moscow, 1869; Smoliensky, *O sóbránii drevne-pésheskikh rukópisei v Mosk. Synod. uchilishhte*, in *Russk. Musik. Gazeta*, 1899 (NN 3-14); and *Opisánye známennykh i nótnykh rukópisei Solovétskoi bibliót. Kazánskoi dubóvnoi académii*.

("where there were many Grecophil hierarchs", says Metallov to account for the prevalence in this MS of kondakarian notation). Time: middle of 12th century. Specimen pages in Metallov's Atlas, tables 18-22. Only a minor part of this cod. contains the early znamenny notation, in which Smoliensky differentiates two distinct types, a simpler and a more ornate one. He, moreover, points to a fourth type of notation in this manuscript, unlike any of the others (except a few kylismata $\equiv \cup \equiv \backslash \equiv$ that it has in common with the znamenny alphabet).

6. *Triodion (Lenten)*, 207 p., Moscow Synodal Press, Cod. 148 (Metallov), Cod. 306 (Volkov), Novgorod, middle of 12th century. This MS is also called Lenten Sticherarium, but contains several stichera from the Pentecostarium. Specimen pages in Metallov's Atlas, tables 29-32. Notation exclusively early znamenny, as is the case with all the following monumenta (except here and there separate lines with kondakarian notation).
7. *Sticherarium*, 55 p., Moscow Synodal Press, Cod. 96 (Metallov), not listed by Volkov and Findeisen, but mentioned by Allemanov in his *K vstanovléniiu tserkóvno-péfcheskoy staríný*. Kiev (though Metallov admits certain words peculiar to Novgorod and Smoliensk), first half of 12th century. Contains stichera from December 1st to December 7th.
8. *Sticherarium*, 188 p., State Public Library, Cod. 15 div. Q (and F, collection of the Count Tolstoy, div. II, No. I according to Volkov), Kiev, early 12th century (out of 380 stichera, 125 are without notation, simple signs, 7th glas referred to here as ἡχος βαρύς, on p. 51 verso a drawing of a hand). Specimen pages in Metallov's *Boboslu-shébnoye pénye. Períod domongólsky*, tables 8, 9, and in his Atlas, tables 6-8.
9. *Sticherarium*, 216 p., Moscow Synodal Library, Cod. 572 (Metallov and Volkov), monthly sticherarium, containing stichera for Saints' days from September to August, written in the Pereyaslavli district, near Kiev, perhaps on the occasion of the erection of a church (on the river Alta) in honor of the Saints Boris and Gleb by Vladimir Monomachos, hence before 1125. Specimen pages in Metallov's Atlas, tables 9, 10.
10. *Sticherarium*, 79 p., Moscow Synodal Press Cod. 145 (Metallov), Cod. 303 (Volkov), Novgorod, not later than 1157, has the following inscription on first page: "This sticherarium belongs to St. Vlassy, and whoever will sing from it, may he live long, and this manuscript was written by a man whose Christian name is Jacob, known in the world at large as Tvorimir, sexton of St. Nicholas, who, though but poorly skilled, has written a kondakarium, saying amen, amen." Specimen pages in Metallov's Atlas, tables 11-17.

11. *Sticherarium*, 190 p., Moscow Synodal Library Cod. 589 (Metallov and Volkov), Novgorod, dated 1157 and bearing the inscription: "Monthly sticherarium, may the Lord help us to write it in accordance with the statute of St. Theodore of Studion." Specimen pages in Metallov's Atlas, tables 25-28.
12. *Sticherarium*, 113 p., Petrograd Theological Academy, Sophia Library Cod. 384 (Metallov, not listed by Volkov), Novgorod, bearing the inscription: "This book endeth on the 13th day of September with the kanon for the feast of the Elevation of the Cross, and was written since June under the bishop Arkady and the justice Tupochel." Arkady was bishop or archbishop of Novgorod from 1158 to 1163, hence the MS belongs to one of these years. Specimen pages in Metallov's Atlas, tables 33-36.
13. *Triodion (Lenten)*, 315 p., Moscow Synodal Library, Cod. 423 (Metallov), Cod. 319 (Volkov), Novgorod, though containing words peculiar to Smoliensk, end of 12th century. Specimen pages in Metallov's Atlas, tables 37, 38. This MS is the first part of the following one: "They are like brother and sister" (Smoliensky).
14. *Pentecostarion*, 206 p., library of the Voskressensky (New Jerusalem) monastery, Cod. 27, Novgorod, end of 12th century. Specimen pages in Metallov's Atlas, tables 47, 48.
15. *Sticherarium*, 166 p., Moscow Synodal Press, Cod. 151 (Metallov), Cod. 330 (Volkov), Novgorod, after 1157. The sticheron in honor of St. Theodosius (Feodóssy Pechersky) has a line of kondakarian notation in the midst of the znamiona, see table 40 in Metallov's Atlas. Specimen pages in this atlas, tables 39-42.
16. *Sticherarium*, 91 p., Moscow Synodal Press, Cod. 152 (Metallov, not listed by Volkov and Findeisen). Metallov, in his description of it for some unknown reason identifies it with a Trefologion (Menaia for the greater immovable holidays), mentioned by Sreznevsky in his *Drévmiye pámiatniki rússkavo yazyká*, and on the basis of an inscription in Sreznevsky's monument deduces its Vladimir origin. But Sreznevsky speaks of a manuscript of 149 pages. Neither Metallov nor Smoliensky, who reaffirm the plausibility of this sticherarium's being a Vladimir document, makes any attempt to reconcile the discrepancy.
17. *Sticherarium*, 168 p., Moscow Synodal Library, Cod. 279 (Metallov and Volkov), containing stichera from September to December and from June to August, as well as 11 Gospel stichera at the end. On the strength of an inscription on p. 71 of the MS, Metallov deduces its Smoliensk origin ("Lord, have mercy upon Thy faithful servant the sub-deacon of St. John the Divine, written by John Demidov"). In 1180 a church of St. John the Divine was erected in Smoliensk and "decorated by all manner of church architecture and icons set in gold

and enamel" (Ipatsky chronicle). But there was also one in Kiev. However, the text is more peculiar to Smoliensk than Kiev. There is much in this evidence that hangs together but loosely. Specimen pages in Metallov's Atlas, tables 43-46.

18. *Triodion*, 82 p., Moscow Synodal Library, Cod. 278 (Metallov and Findeisen), Novgorod, end of 12th century. Smoliensky claims that this MS is not a triodion but a sticherarium for Lent, only one half of which is preserved.
19. *Hirmologion*, 34 p., Moscow Synodal Press, Cod. 149 (Metallov), Cod. 307 (Volkov). Many texts in this MS possess no notation and this leads Metallov to the belief that it belongs to a time when many hirmoi had not yet been chanted (12th century), Novgorod.
20. *Hirmologion*, 40 p., Moscow Synodal Press, Cod. 150 (Metallov), Cod. 308 (Volkov). Still older than preceding and also of Novgorod origin.
21. *Menaia*, 10 books (March and July are missing), 260 p. for September alone, others equally bulky, Moscow Synodal Library, Cod. 159-168 (Metallov and Volkov). "This valuable copy of the Menaia was probably made for the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Novgorod." (Volkov). Thus its origin lies in Novgorod or one of the northern provinces—Suzdal or Vladimir. End of 12th or beginning of 13th century.
22. *Hirmologion*, 195 p., Library of the Voskressensky (New Jerusalem) monastery, Cod. 28, Novgorod, end of 12th or beginning of 13th century. This is the Hirmologion that Smoliensky described in a separate brochure (Kazan, 1887). Specimen hirmoi and separate lines from them appear in plenty in the parallel tables that Smoliensky affixed to his edition of Mezenets's *Azbuka*. In Metallov's Atlas, tables 48, 49.
23. *Sticherarium*, 203 p., Library of the Academy of Science Cod. 74 (Metallov, corrected by Smoliensky into 347.6) Cod. 16 (Volkov). Metallov conjectures its northern, perhaps Suzdal or Vladimir, origin and puts it into the late 12th or early 13th century. Specimen pages in Metallov's Atlas, tables 52-54.
24. *Holiday Menaia*, for September, October, and November, 169 p. (160?). State Public Library Cod. 12 of Div. Q. I. (Formerly it belonged to the St. Sophia Cathedral in Novgorod). Its assignment to Novgorod seems to be unanimous, but authorities differ as to the date: end of 11th century (Vostokov, who described it in his *Filologicheskaya nabliudénia*, St. Petersburg, 1865, p. 202, and Lavrovsky); early 12th century (Sreznevsky); early 13th century (Volkov). Metallov would compromise on the latter part of the 12th century. Out of 169 pages, only 15 have musical notation. Specimen pages in Metallov's Atlas, tables 50, 51.
25. *Sticherarium*, Cod. 8 of the Uspensky Cathedral in Moscow, is men-

tioned by Smoliensky and by Allemanov in his *K vostanovléniu tserkóvno-péfcheskoy staríný*, but is absent from Metallov's lists.

26. *Triodion (Lenten)*, Cod. 96 of the Library of the Petrograd Theological Academy, is mentioned only by Allemanov in the above brochure.

VI. THE MAKERS OF THE ZNAMENNY CHANT

Throughout the preceding chapters reference has been made to "Russian singers". Is it possible to penetrate through the mute centuries and reveal to any extent the identity of those musicians to whom we owe the znamenny chant? Unfortunately there is about as little information about them as about the makers of the Gregorian chant or the builders of the Gothic cathedrals. The Middle Ages are in one respect, at least, a far more idealistic and refined epoch than the modern era: self-advertisement and self-aggrandizement played then a much smaller part than now. Artists wrought for the greater glory of God and were perfectly content to forego credit for their individual achievements and to let their names pass into oblivion. Collective creation was the watchword: no one cared about extolling his peculiar part in the making of a church, or a body of chants, or an epic cycle. Hence the scarcity of reference to individual makers that is characteristic also of Russian church music.

In the description of the manuscripts of the pre-Mongol period the reader will have noticed the insertion of a few individual names: Jacob or Tvorimir, John Demidov. These men do not pretend to be anything but transmitters, copyists of manuscripts. A greater claim to a musically creative rôle is assignable to the few domestikoi who are mentioned by name in the old chronicles, e.g. "the eunuch Manuel, a great expert in singing"²⁸ who was appointed bishop of Smoliensk in 1137. In the 15th century, after the Mongol yoke had been shaken off, there arose a number of singing academies, the most famous of which are associated with Novgorod. From this time on this northern city, which had escaped the Tartar invasion, assumed a leading rôle in the cultivation of church music. To the singing academies a memorable reference is made in the speech of the Czar Ivan IV at the Stoglav

²⁸ See the Ipatsky (Ipatievsky) and Pereyasavl chronicles under the year 6645 (from the creation of the world). Other such domestikoi are Stephen, a pupil of Theodosius of Pechory, Kirik of the St. Anthony monastery in Novgorod, and Luka of Vladimir (all of the 11-12th centuries).

Council in 1551.²⁹ The contribution of this ruler to church singing is all-important. He was first of all a composer in his own right, and two stichera of his creation have come down to us.³⁰ He was ever mindful of the improvement of singing in Moscow, for which purpose he imported into his capital great numbers of Novgorod singers. It is with his period that our only detailed account of the makers and chanters of the znamenny chant deals. It reaches us in the preface to a *Sticherarium*,³¹ written by its copyist or editor, who flourished in the reign of Michael Feodorovich (1613-46). It is based entirely on what the pupils of one of the principal Novgorod singers, Feodor the Christian, who was in the retinue of the Czar Ivan IV, told him personally.³² It is well to quote this famous passage in full:

I, a wretched sinner, who was born in the eighth millennium [i.e. between 1492 and 1592], and have begun to grow old and acquire wisdom, have heard with mine own ears from various folk about the old masters, to wit Feodor, the Pope, named Christian, who was famous here in the town of Moscow, the residence of the Czar, and greatly skilled in the chanting of the znamenny chant; and many were his pupils, and his chants are famous to this day. And from his pupils, *to whom I am known*, I have heard that he, Christian, was wont to tell them that in Novgorod the Great the old masters were: *Savva Rogov* and his brother *Vassili*, in monkhood Varlaam, Karelians by descent: and later this Varlaam was metropolitan in the town of Rostov, a man devout and wise and greatly skilled in singing, a chanter and creator of znamenny and three-part (*troystrochnomu*) and demestvenny chants. And his brother Savva had as his pupil the above Pope Christian, and Ivan Noss, and Stephen, called the Pauper (*golýsh*). And Ivan Noss and Christian lived in the reign of the righteous Czar and Grand Duke Ivan Vassilievich of all the Russias [Ivan IV]. And they were with him in his favorite village, the Alexandrova Slobodá, but Stephen the Pauper was not there, because he wandered about in various towns and taught in the Ussolsk province and in the lands of the Stroganovs, and his pupil was *Ivan*, named *Lukoshka*, in monkhood Isaiah, and he and his master Stephen the Pauper had chanted many znamenny chants. And

²⁹ *Stoglav*, edition of the Kazan Theological Seminary, Kazan, 1862.

³⁰ (a) On the death of the metropolitan Peter (the original bears the inscription: "Work of the Czar Ioann, Lord of all the Russias"), and (b) to the Blessed Virgin ("The Czar's Work"). Findeisen places their creation in the year 1547. The Czar being then only seventeen years of age, Findeisen wonders if he could have been the author of both text and music. See Cod. 428 of the Troitse-Sergievsk monastery.

³¹ Of the Library of Prince Obolensky. See also in Úndolsky, *Zamechanya*.

³² Metallov (*Očerok istorii tserkovnogo pénya*, p. 81) makes of the copyist or editor a contemporary, not of Michael Feodorovich, but of the next Czar, Alexei Mikhailovich; this, however, would make him too young to have heard anything from pupils of Feodor the Christian, who was with Ivan IV in 1564-65.

after him his pupil Isaiah has spread and supplied much znamenny singing. And from the above-named pupils of Christian I have heard what he had related to them about the Gospel Stichera: someone in Tver, a *deacon*, a man of great wisdom and piety, had chanted the Gospel stichera; and the Psalter was chanted in Novgorod the Great by a monk named *Markél*, called the Beardless, who also composed a kanon of rare beauty for Nikita, the archbishop of Novgorod. And the triodia were chanted and explained by Ivan Noss who likewise had chanted the Staurotheotokia [Stabat Mater] and the Theotokia that are in the Menaia. . . .

From this fascinating account the following approximate genealogical tree of the classic masters of Russian church singing might be constructed:

<p>Generation born in the reign of the Czar Vassili III (1505-33)</p>	<p>1. The deacon of Tver, singer, author of the Gospel Stichera</p>	<p>2. Savva Rogoff, famous teacher in Novgorod, born in Karelia</p>	<p>3. Vassili Rogoff, singer and composer in Novgorod, born in Karelia. Metropolitan in Rostoff (1586) under name of Varlaam, creator of the Znamenny, 3-part, and demestvenny chants.</p>	<p>4. Markél the Beardless, Singer in Novgorod, Chotyn Monastery, author of the Psalter</p>
<p>Generation born in the early part of the reign of Czar Ivan IV (1533-84)</p>	<p>5. Feodor the Christian, teacher in Moscow, born in Novgorod, later Priest, originator of a chant known as Christian's chant, in Alexandrovo settlement with Ivan IV (1564-65)</p>		<p>6. Ivan Noss, teacher in Moscow, born in Novgorod, author of triodia, Stabat Mater and theotokia in the menaia, in Alexandrovo settlement with Ivan IV (1564-65)</p>	<p>7. Stephen the Pauper, teacher in Ussolsk province (n. e. of Russia), born in Novgorod.</p>
<p>Generation born in the later part of the reign of Czar Ivan IV (1533-84)</p>	<p>Pupils of his have told the tale of them all to the author of the preface to the Sticharium</p>	<p>8. Ivan Lukoshka (Lukoshkoff), creator of Ussolsk master singing (Lukoshka's singing), in 1615 archimandrite of Vladimir Nativity Monastery under name of Isaiah. Copy of Octoechos belonging to him, dated March 1615.</p>		

Note: The Deacon of Tver and Markél the Beardless may have been a little younger than the brothers Rogoff.

The author of the preface to the sticherarium does not mention one famous teacher of church singing: Ivan Shaidurov, the inventor of the red-ink marks bearing his name, also a native of Novgorod. Perhaps he considered Shaidurov merely a theorist and not a creator of new chants. For information about Shaidurov—unfortunately no more complete than our knowledge of the other masters—we may consult an article in a manuscript of the 17th century.³³ This is what we are told: “. . . there was a certain didaskalos or teacher of singing, and his name was Ivan, son of Joachim, also called simply Shaidur; this Ivan, through great industry and much endeavor invented some znamenny singing and delightful euphony. The Lord caused him to find the original marks. . . .” This would make Shaidurov into a master chanter as well as a theorist.

In reading that this or that master “supplied much znamenny singing” we must not imagine that he invented a mass of new melody. The practice of the Middle Ages in this respect was different from ours. In modern music a composer must have a distinct character of his own, which is the result of manipulating melody, harmony, rhythm, or the larger forms of composition in a manner peculiar to himself. Until he has succeeded in moulding this character—which often takes long years—he will do best not to come out into the open. The medieval composer was expected to show his skill rather in manipulating something familiar, something that his teachers had used before him. The mastery of a pupil was appraised in accordance with a successful imitation of his teacher. Only by and by was he allowed to show further resourcefulness and manipulate his master’s stock-in-trade in a new manner. In church music these restrictions were even more rigorous than in secular music. The Russian tradition sanctioned the music of the church while it relegated secular music to the care of buffoons and minstrels whom it often even outlawed. It further decreed that all the stichera, troparia, and prokeimena used during the church service were to be chanted in accordance with certain patterns—the podobny—listed in the podobnik.³⁴ If a new stich-

³³ *Skazánye o podmétkah, yéje píshutsia v pénii nad známenem*, meaning “The tale of the marks that are written above the znamia.” Other manuals are named by Saharov in *Islédovanya o rússkikh tserkóvnykh pesnopényakh*. See also Cod. 219 and 74 of the Library of the Synodal School of Church Singing, Moscow.

³⁴ As early a MS as Cod. 142 of the Synodal Press (see preceding chapter) contains,

eron was needed for some newly canonized saint or a new feast, the composer was expected to model it on one of the patterns in the *podobnik*. Its title then would be something like this:

"Sticheron. 2nd glas, podobn: When Joseph of Arimathea took Thee, who wert dead, down from the cross."

Theoretically the text of the new *sticherón* had to fit exactly into the melody of the *podoben*. But in practice there were many accents and syllables that did not coincide, and here the chanter could display any amount of taste, a fine musical feeling, a sense of rhythm, etc.

And not only was the form of the whole chant strictly prescribed: the separate lines of it were also to be rendered in accordance with set patterns. The "*kokiznik*" contained them all, grouped in the succession of the 8 glassy. Thus, if a new *sticheron* in the 6th glas was needed, the chanter was entrusted with the task of first choosing his pattern musical form, depending on the length of the text; then revolving in his mind the patterns making up the 6th glas, which he was expected to know from memory, and selecting from them such as suited his purpose. Herein he was guided by the indispensable recurrence of certain musical themes and by the rhyming of cadences; and no small amount of ingenuity, artistic judgment, and taste were required in order to produce thus a new work of art that would be in the best tradition. And yet a pattern was not in all cases available. For most of the *stichera* there was one, but when it came to the *theotokia* or the *stauro-theotokia*, their chanter, Ivan Noss, was obviously even more on his mettle than the Deacon of Tver who chanted the Gospel *Stichera*. If the latter's craftsmanship may have occasionally outshone his art, with Noss the artist prevailed over the artisan. Such, in the main, must have been the creative process of the Novgorod masters, such the way in which the chant that we find in the five Synodal books with staff notation was evolved from the meagerest recitative outline.

In speaking of Vassili Rogov, the author of the preface to the *sticherarium* mentions by the side of the *znamenny* chant the

at the end, such a collection of patterns, in the form of 30 *stichera* of various length and for different glassy, some more developed, for festal use, some quite brief, for ordinary occasions.

three-part (troiestróchnoye) and demestvenny chants. The reference to three-part singing is very interesting to the student of Russian church music. We have clear evidence that the singers of the 16th century did know some sort of part-singing. Manuscripts in the znamenny notation in two, three, and four parts are extant,³⁵ also, certain purely Russian names are to be found for these various parts: zakhvát (seizure), podkhvát (catch), stróky (lines), niz (bottom), put (way), verkh (top), demestvó, etc.—uncouth, but very expressive of the wonderment of the singer used to melody only, at the sound of a chord. How were these parts combined? Since Western methods of counterpoint are quite out of the question in 16th-17th century Russia, we must assume that the church singers were guided by the same natural instinct as folk-singers in harmonizing folk-songs. And yet there is hardly any analogy between these two types of singing. While folk-singing has its tradition of harmony,³⁶ Russian church singing had always been cultivated as strict unison singing. As such it had its notation while folk-singing remained unwritten. It was but natural that the Russian scribes and precentors should want to affix on paper the two and three parts of melody, as they had done with one. But here they seem to have encountered difficulties. There was nothing to show them how a second and third line of znamiona³⁷ should be written above the first. A way to do this could have been found, but the scarcity of the manuscripts in parts and the adverse opinion expressed about part-singing by experts on church music,³⁸ show that the heart of the Russian singers was not in this new problem. So they stuck to their unison singing until, at the end of the 17th century, the newer chants had fully superseded the znamenny and the incoming staff notation opened up possibilities for harmonizing them. The art of the Novgorod masters remained to the end faithful to a single

³⁵ There is a two-part obikhod dated 1645, written by the Czar's singer, the deacon Koniukhovskiy. MS in the Moscow Publ. Museum (see Metallov, *Ocherk istorii*, p. 84). Findeisen has a reproduction of a three-part znamenny score on p. 144 of his *Ocherki*, Vol. I. but does not mention where the original is to be found.

³⁶ See my collection of folk-songs (cited above), or that of K. Piátnitsky.

³⁷ Znamíóna is the plural form of známíia.

³⁸ This is what we read in a MS of the Moscow Theol. Seminary, dated 1671 and entitled *Musikiya*, p. 10: "In three-part singing it is impossible to find the proper note [tone], there is no accordance in it, only three discordant voices making a noise, and the ignorant deem it beautiful, while those who know consider it poorly put together."

line of melody, and the znamenny chant never underwent the corruption to which the Gregorian chant was subjected in the process of being fitted into a framework of harmony and polyphony. Our age is much more scrupulous in these matters, nor is it averse to leaving stark unison alone or else handling the melody so as not to violate its inherent characteristics. If ever a school of composers should arise on the foundations of the znamenny chant, may it follow the lead of such men as Rimsky-Korsakov or Kastalsky, who have already left memorable harmonizations.

VIEWS AND REVIEWS

THE GREATEST GIFTS to the human brain are memory and oblivion. A rich store of happy recollections is a treasure beyond price; the faculty of forgetting is often the only balm upon the wounds that life inflicts on most of us. These thoughts might be developed at greater length, but to no purpose here. In musical matters especially, the words "Do you remember" have a tang of early winter—, dead leaves without, dying embers within. They generally introduce a comparison of the past with the present, one that is seldom to the advantage of the latter. But comparisons are not now our object, whether they be odious or otherwise. The fact remains that music and musicians—in retrospect—are apt to gain in worth and perfection; or at least they take on a warmer glow in the golden, if melancholy, rays of the setting sun.

When you hear our oldsters say "Do you remember Sarasate—Petchnikoff—Lilli Lehmann—Teresa Carreño?" with a slight air of superiority, you must be mindful that the phonograph, and its improvements, will put an end to boastful reminiscences, and provide with "first ear" knowledge all coming generations. This, however, will not remove the need of the written word, the collected form of many "Do you remember"s—besides the records of an artist's performance, posterity will continue to want the record of the artist's life and personality. That must be chronicled truthfully and sympathetically.

Do we remember Teresa Carreño?—yes, very vividly, though we were a mere lad when she was in her prime and triumphantly bestrode the tiered stage of the *Philharmonie* in Berlin. Artur Nikisch, his head bent slightly forward, and pulling at his shirt cuffs, with his drooping lids squinting expectantly in the direction of the green-room door, smiled benignly as she emerged. The pianist, regally attired, with the air of a Greek goddess, acknowledged calmly the wild reception by the audience and took her seat before the black monster that she was about to put through its paces. Her playing may have had flaws. Carping critics said so. But oblivion has effaced any blemishes. The remembered impression is one of untarnished radiance.

Carreño, we believe, never made phonograph records. (A

record "dubbed" from a piano roll is all we can find a trace of.) Nor could the best of recordings have captured that electric fluid which emanated from her person and communicated itself to every listener. She had beauty, force, passion, and technical mastery; above all, she had studied singing and had sung in public at various points of her career. There is no better school for any instrumentalist than to learn how to sing. There now exists a "life" of Teresa Carreño, and a very detailed one. It was written by Marta Milinowski, professor of Music at Vassar College, and is published in celebration of the institution's seventy-fifth anniversary and in honor of Henry Noble MacCracken in the twenty-fifth year of his presidency. At any other time, and without such formidable associations, the book (Yale University Press, 1940; 410 pp.) would have been welcome. In it one finds assembled a prodigious lot of material. Indeed, one might wish that the author had "streamlined" her book a little more severely. The central figure would have lost nothing in stature and the narrative would have progressed in certain spots with more appropriate swiftness. Especially the many imaginary conversations between real people and the tender reflections upon their doings belong to a style of biography that has ceased to hold the attention of the reader who is looking for facts and their critical interpretation. There is a difference between musical biography and the "musical novel", that hybrid of history and fantasy, which soon gets rather tiresome, unless the fantasy be of the truly brilliant kind. With these slight reservations registered, one can have but praise for the author's diligence, and be grateful to her for having delved so thoroughly into all sources and documents that might shed some light on the long, glorious, and often turbulent life of her heroine. To anyone inquiring "Do you remember Carreño?" she has made full reply. She has reconstructed, out of a scattered past, a unified and living presence.

In thirteen years from now, the world that may then still remember Teresa Carreño can celebrate the centenary of her birth. She was born in Caracas, Venezuela. This affords an opportunity to her biographer to refer to her occasionally—in the favorite manner of French circumlocution—as the "brilliant butterfly of the Andes" and as a "child of the tropics." We are overlooking other and similar epithets. As a matter of fact, the Andes and the tropics played a minor part in Teresa's life, although the snowy

caps of unassailable peaks and the damp rankness of torpid swamps may have been responsible for some traits in her character. She was haughty, she was sloppy, she was incomparable. What she lacked most was a practical knowledge of birth control. She had only four husbands, and the dates of her marriages are not always clearly ascertainable. She gave away one child, her first surviving one. She rued it, but could not mend it. Her first husband was Emile Sauret, the French violinist. She married him in 1873, at the age of twenty, which was late for a Venezuelan. Her second husband was an Italian baritone. He was also a gambler and a philanderer. She sought happiness where obviously it could not be found. Her third husband was a person of her own size, Eugen d'Albert, the eminent pianist (eleven years her junior) whose chief ambition it was to be a great composer, especially of operas (witness his one real success, *Tiefland*, 1903). There were some more children, but not a family. Music has a way of interfering with the bringing up of youngsters, begotten by temperamental parents; it is hostile to the smooth running of a frenzied *ménage*. But Madame Milinowski seems to be a little partial when, in her "Prelude," she writes "most flagrant of all is the willful misrepresentation of Carreño in Wilhelm Raupp's biography of Eugen d'Albert." We suspect that the truth lies somewhere midway between Madame Milinowski and Herr Raupp. D'Albert, in the course of his prolonged experiments with women, tried all kinds. He never encountered a more worthy partner than Teresa. She learned from him. He profited by her. But two positive poles must ultimately spell negation. Madame Milinowski has Teresita die on June 12, 1917, in New York. Herr Wilhelm Raupp says June 13. As if twenty-four hours could have added anything to this glamorous and miserable fate. The fourth husband was the brother of the second. He was not a musician. Teresa's biographer says: "At last Carreño felt that there was someone at her side to whom, with the confidence that it would be frankly answered, she could put that question—'How did I play last night?'" This exemplifies tellingly the biographer's occasional naïveté. As if the questioner would have ever tolerated an unkind or reserved reply. Madame Milinowski is more direct when she writes of this husband No. IV that he "knew by intuition when to be silent, when to disappear." That, indeed, was consummate

wisdom, not shared by his three egotistic predecessors. What a lesson is that "disappearing husband"!

Carreño's artistic and public life spans a period reaching from the American Civil War to the First World War. Combat was native to her. She was related to the great liberator, Simón Bolívar. She never achieved real freedom. She was the slave of her profession and of her Venezuelan blood. What gives her particular importance, in the history of American music, is the fact that she "discovered" Edward MacDowell, that she was the first to play his piano music, despite opposition, and that she finally obtained for it the public success it deserved, and it has maintained.

Carreño was a great woman. She might have been greater had she been a man. No discourtesy is intended. She resembled, in type and looks, her eminent contemporary, Lilli Lehmann, the unforgettable singer, who in her last years appeared in song recitals at Berlin only for the benefit of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. At her estate, in Grunewald, she would take sun baths in complete disregard of her neighbors, surrounded by her dogs. She would give her tenor-husband enough carfare to send him off to Berlin, but not enough to get him a lunch. She had a much sounder approach to the male than had poor Teresita. But in memory they loom large, equally large, equally grand. Who is there to take their places? Who plays Lalo's "Espagnole" as did Sarasate, who draws lightning sparks from Tchaikovsky as did young Petchnikoff, even though once, in his impetuosity, he let the bow fly out of his hand?

C. E.



QUARTERLY BOOK-LIST



PREPARED BY EDWARD N. WATERS

ENGLISH

ANDREWS, EDWARD DEMING

The gift to be simple. Songs, dances and rituals of the American Shakers. xi, 170 p, 8°. New York: J. J. Augustin, 1940.

Arkansas (Arkie) Woodchopper square dance calls, with music and instructions. Chicago: M. M. Cole Publishing Co., 1940.

BAKALEINIKOFF, VLADIMIR &
MILTON ROSEN

The instruments of the band and orchestra. An encyclopedia. iv, 53 p, 8°. New York: Boosey Hawkes Belwin, Inc., 1940.

DAUGHERTY, D. H.

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PORTUGUESE

VILLA-LOBOS, HEITOR

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PANUM, HORTENSE & WILLIAM BEHREND

Illustreret Musikleksikon. Nyudgave under Redaktion af Povl Hamburger. Under Medvirken af William Behrend, O. M. Sandvik, Jürgen Balzer. 736 p. 8°. København: H. Aschehoug & Co., 1940.

PROPHETOLOGIUM. Ediderunt Carsten Höeg et Günther Zuntz. Fasciculus secundus. Lectiones hebdomadarum 1ae et 2ae quadagesimae. (Monumenta musicae byzantinae. Lectionaria. Edenda curaverunt Carsten Höeg et Silva Lake. Volumen I. Fasc. 2) 96 p. 4°. København: Munksgaard, 1940.



QUARTERLY RECORD-LIST



PREPARED BY PHILIP MILLER.

AFRIKAANS MUSIC

Songs of the South African Veld: Stellenbosch Boys; Tante Koba; Stay, Polly, stay; Pack your things and trek Freira; Brandy leave me alone; Here am I; Sarie Marais; Henrietta's wedding. Josef Marais and his Bushveld Band. Decca set 113.

ARDITI, LUIGI (See Verdi)

ARENSKY, ANTONY

(See also Rimsky-Korsakov)

Suite, op. 15: Romance. Reverse: *Die Ruinen von Athen: Turkish March* (Beethoven: arr. Thern). Ethel Bartlett and Rae Robertson, 2 pfs. Columbia 17198D.

BACH, JOHANN SEBASTIAN

(See also Old Italian Music)

Fantasia and Fugue, organ, C min. Edouard Commette, o. St. Jean Cath, Lyons. Columbia 70087D.

Das wohltemperirte Clavier: Prelude and Fugue no. 13, F-sharp maj. Reverse: *2 Etudes, op. 7* (Stravinsky). Soulima Stravinsky, pf. Boite à Musique 27.

BEETHOVEN, LUDWIG VAN

(See also Arensky)

Adelaide, op. 46. Jussi Bjoerling, t; pf. English Gramophone DA 1705.

Concerto, piano, no. 3, C min, op. 37. Marguerite Long, pf; Paris Cons. Orch. con. Weingartner. French Columbia LFX 581-84.

Für Elise; Bagatelle, op. 33, no. 2, C maj. Eileen Joyce, pf. English Columbia DX 974.

Leonore Overture, no. 3, op. 72a. Minneapolis Sym. Orch. con. Mitropoulos. Columbia X-173.

Quartet, strings, op. 18, no. 4, C min. Coolidge Str. Quart. Victor M-696.

Sextet, 2 French horns and string quartet, op. 81b. Royale Chamber Orch. con. Henri Nosco. Royale 621-23.

Sonata, piano, op. 27, no. 2, C-sharp min. ("Moonlight"). Adagio. Reverse:

Minuet, op. 14, no. 1, G maj. (Paderewski). Paderewski, pf. Victor 16250.

Sonata, piano, op. 101, A maj. Giese-king, pf. Columbia X-172.

Symphony, no. 4, B-flat maj, op. 60. B.B.C. Sym. Orch. con. Toscanini. Victor M-676.

BERLIOZ, HECTOR (See Wagner)

BILLINGS, WILLIAM (See Maganini)

BOCCHERINI, LUIGI

Quartet, strings, op. 33, no. 5, G min. Roth Str. Quart. Columbia X-170.

BRAHMS, JOHANNES

(See also Schubert and Schumann)

Akademische Fest Ouverture, op. 80. London Sym. Orch. con. Weingartner. English Columbia LX 886.

Concerto, piano, no. 1, D min, op. 15. Schnabel, pf; London Phil. Orch. con. Georg Szell. Victor M-677.

Symphony, no. 2, D maj, op. 73. Phil-Sym. Orch. con. N.Y. con. Barbirolli. Columbia M-412.

Symphony, no. 2, D maj, op. 73. Philadelphia Orch. con. Ormandy. Victor M-694.

3 Waltzes, op. 39; Intermezzo, op. 117, no. 2, B-flat min. Stell Anderson, pf. French Polydor 516.782.

BRANT, JOBST VON

(See Early German Lieder)

BRUCH, MAX

Kol Nidrei, op. 47. Pablo Casals, vlc; London Sym. Orch. con. Ronald. Reverse: *Minuet* (Haydn, arr. Piatti). Casals, vlc; Blas-Net, pf. Victor M-680.

BRUCKNER, ANTON (See Des Prez)

BULL, JOHN (See Grandjany)

CARPENTER, JOHN ALDEN

(See also Swarthout)

Song of faith. Chicago A Capella Ch. con. Noble Cain. Victor 26529-30.

CASTELNUOVO-TEDESCO, MARIO

Cipressi (1920). Castelnuevo-Tedesco, pf. Victor 16449.

CASTRUCCI, PIETRO (See *Pasquini*)

CHABRIER, EMMANUEL

Pièces pittoresques: No. 10, Scherzo-Valse; Impromptu. Robert Casadesu, pf. French Columbia LFX 589.

CHARPENTIER, GUSTAVE

Louise: Depuis le jour. Reverse: *La Bohème: Mi chiamano Mimi* (Puccini). Grace Moore, s; Victor Sym. Orch. con. Pelletier. Victor 17189.

CHAUSSON, ERNEST (See *Swarthout*)

CHAVEZ, CARLOS

A Program of Mexican Music: Sones Mariachi; La Paloma azul; Aztec music; Ballet; Yaqui Indian Music; Huapango. Orch; National Music League Ch. con Chavez. Columbia M-414.

CHINESE CLASSICAL MUSIC

Soliloquy of a convalescent; March; Dance Prelude; Flying flowers falling upon emerald-green grass; The Drunken Fisherman; Parting at Yang Kwan; Temple Meditation; The Flight of the Partridge. Prof. Wei Chung Loh, playing the Ehr-hu, the Pi-pa, the seven string Cing, the Hsiao or Phoenix flute and the T-Tze or Horizontal flute. Musicraft set 44.

CHOPIN, FREDERIC (See also *Murdoch*)

Chants polonais, op. 74; No. 14, The Ring; No. 2, Spring (Arr. Liszt). Alfred Cortot, pf. English Gramophone DA 1682.

Mazurkas, Vol. III: Op. 56, no. 3, C min; Op. 59, no. 1, A min; Op. 56, no. 2, C maj; Op. 59, no. 2, A-flat maj; Op. 68, no. 1, C maj; Op. 59, no. 3, F-sharp min; Op. 67, no. 1, G maj; Op. 68, no. 2, A min; Op. Posth, A min; Op. 30, no. 2, B min; Op. 67, no. 2, G min; Op. 67, no. 3, C maj; Op. 33, no. 1, G-sharp min; Op. 67, no. 4, A min; Op. 68, no. 3, F maj; A min (Notre Temps). Arthur Rubinstein, pf. Victor M-691.

Nocturne, op. 9, no. 2, E-flat maj; Nocturne, op. 32, no. 1, B maj. Eileen Joyce, pf. English Parlophone E 11448.

COPLAND, AARON

Two Pieces for string quartet: Lento molto; Rondino. Dorian Str. Quart. Columbia 70092D.

DEBUSSY, CLAUDE

(See also *Murdoch* and *Ravel*)

Petite Suite: En bateau; Cortège;

Menuet; Ballet (Arr. Büsser). Sym. Orch. con. Piero Coppola. Victor M-674.

DE KOVEN, REGINALD (See *Martini*)

DELIUS, FREDERIC

On hearing the first cuckoo in spring. London Phil. Orch. con. Constant Lambert. Victor 4496.

DES PREZ, JOSQUIN

Tu pauperum refugium. Reverse: *Ave Maria* (Bruckner). Strasbourg Cath. Ch. con. Alphonse Hoch. French Columbia RFX 71.

DONIZETTI, GAETANO

(See *Gounod* and *Saint-Saëns*)

DOWLAND, JOHN (See *Swarthout*)

DURANTE, FRANCESCO

(See *Early Liturgical Music*)

DVOŘÁK, ANTONIN

Quartet, strings, op. 96, F maj. (American). Budapest Str. Quart. Victor M-681.

Symphony, no. 5, E min, op. 95 (From the New World). All-American Youth Orch. con. Stokowski. Columbia M-416.

EARLY GERMAN LIEDER

Es steht ein' Lind' (Brant); *Linde* (Langenau); *Minnelied* (Locheimer Liederbuch); *Ich spring' in diesem Ringe* (Locheimer Liederbuch); *Innsbruck* (Isaac); *Braun's Meidelein* (Othmayr); *Eine schön' Tageweis* (Melody from Böhme). Ernst Wolff, bar & pf. Columbia X-168.

EARLY LITURGICAL MUSIC

Diffusa est gratia (Nanino); *To my humble supplication* (Genevan Psalter); *Exaltabo Te, Domine* (Palestrina); *Kyrie* (Durante); *Crucifixus* (Lotti). Columbia Univ. Ch. con. Lowell P. Beveridge. Columbia University 103-4.

EFROS, GERSHON

(See *Synagogue Music*)

ELGAR, EDWARD

Pleading. Reverse: *When the kye come home.* Sydney MacEwan, bar; Hubert Greenslade, pf. English Parlophone R 2743.

ENGEL, JOEL

(See *Songs of Palestine*)

EZRACHI, Y. (See *Songs of Palestine*)

FAURÉ, GABRIEL

Nell, op. 18, no. 1; En sourdine, op. 58, no. 2. Ninon Vallin, s; Pierre Darck, pf. Pathé PG 102.

Quintet, piano and strings, op. 89,

- D min.* Emma Boynet, pf; Gordon Str. Quart. Schirmer set 9.
- Spleen*, op. 51, no. 3; *En prière*. Ginette Guillamat, s; Vlado Perlemuter, pf. French Columbia DF 2486.
- FOOTE, ARTHUR
A Night Piece. John Wummer, fl; Dorian Str. Quart. Columbia 70339D.
- FRANCK, CÉSAR
Pastorale, op. 19; *Chorale no. 1, E maj*; *First movement*; *Chorale no. 3, A min*; *Pièce héroïque*. Charles M. Courboin, o, American Academy of Arts and Letters, N.Y. Victor M-695.
- GALUPPI, BALDASSARE
(See *Old Italian Music*)
- GENEVAN PSALTER
(See *Early Liturgical Music*)
- GERSHWIN, GEORGE
Porgy and Bess: *Overture*; *Summer-time*; *My man's gone now*; *I got plenty o' nuttin'*; *Buzzard song*; *It ain't necessarily so*; *The Requiem*; *Porgy's lament*; *Finale*. Anne Brown, s; Todd Duncan, bar; Decca Sym. Orch. con Alexander Smallens. Decca set 145.
- GOLESTAN, STAN
Chant du Berceau; *Tzigardla*. Lola Bobesco, vln. French Gramophone L 1078.
- GOUNOD, CHARLES
Faust: Il l'aime. Fritz Scheff, s; Thomas Salignac, t; Edouard de Reszke, bs; Metropolitan Op. Orch. con Luigi Mancinelli (Feb. 14, 1903). Reverse: *La Fille du Régiment: De cet aveu si tendre*; *En avant, ra-ta-plan* (Donizetti). Marcella Sembrich, s; Thomas Salignac, t; Charles Gilibert, bar; Emma van Cauteren, c; Metropolitan Op. Ch. and Orch. con Philippe Flon. (Jan. 30, 1903). (Re-recorded from Mapleson cylinders) International Record Collectors Club 170.
- GRANADOS, ENRIQUE (See *Swarthout*)
- GRANDJANY, MARCEL, Arr.
(See also *Ravel*)
Two Old French Folk-songs: Le bon petit roi d'Yvetot; *Et ron, ron, ron, petit patapon*; *The King's Hunt* (Bull). Grandjany, hp. Victor 2095.
- GUION, DAVID (See *Maganini*)
- GUTHRIE, WOODY
Dust Bowl Ballads: Vol. 1: Talkin' Dust Bowl Blues; *Blowin' down this road*; *Do re mi*; *Dust can't kill me*; *Tom Joad. Vol. II: The Great Dust Storm*; *Dusty Old Dust*; *Dust Bowl Refugee*; *Dust Pneumonia Blues*; *I ain't got no home in this world anymore*; *Vigilante Man*. Woody Guthrie, singing with guitar and harmonica. Victor P-27, P-28.
- HANDEL, GEORG FRIEDRICH
(See also *Swarthout*)
Concerto, organ, no. 11, G min, op. 7, no. 5. E. Power Biggs, o; Fiedler's Sinfonietta. Victor 2099-2100.
- Sonata, violin and bass, no. 6, E maj, op. 1, no. 15*. Yehudi Menuhin, vln; Hendrik Endt, pf. Victor 16450.
- HARTY, SIR HAMILTON, Arr.
(See *Swarthout*)
- HAYDN, JOSEPH (See also *Bruch*)
Concerto, clavier, op. 21, D maj. Wanda Landowska, hpschd; orch. con. Eugène Bigot. *Mimuet, C-sharp minor*; *Ballo Tedesco*. Landowska, hpschd. Victor M-471.
- Concerto, trumpet: Andante; Rondo*. (Arr. Goehr). George Eskdale, trpt; Sym. Orch. con. Walter Goehr. Columbia 76106D.
- Symphony, no. 92, G maj (Oxford)*. Paris Cons. Orch. con. Bruno Walter. Victor M-682.
- Symphony, no. 104, D maj (London)*. London Phil. Orch. con. Beecham. Columbia M-409.
- ISAAC, HEINRICH
(See *Early German Lieder*)
- KŘENEK, ERNST
Eleven short piano pieces (from op. 83). Křenek, pf. Columbia X-171.
- LANGENAU, JOHANN LEONHARD VON
(See *Early German Lieder*)
- LEVITZKI, MISCHA
Valse tzigane, op. 7. Reverse: *Petrouchka: Russian dance* (Stravinsky, arr. Luboschutz). Luboschutz and Nemenoff, 2 pfs. Victor 2096.
- LEWANDOWSKI, LOUIS
(See *Synagogue Music*)
- LISZT, FRANZ
(See *Chopin and Murdoch*)
- LOCHEIMER LIEDERBUCH
(See *Early German Lieder*)
- LOTTI, ANTONIO
(See *Early Liturgical Music*)

MAGANINI, QUINTO

Chester (melody by Billings). Reverse: *Arkansaw Traveler* (Guion). Boston "Pops" Orch. con. Fiedler. Victor 4502.

MALOTTE, ALBERT HAY (See *Swarthout*)

MARCELLO, BENEDETTO

(See *Old Italian Music* and *Respighi*)

MARINO, G. (See *Verdi*)

MARTINI, IL TEDESCO

Plaisir d'amour. Reverse: *Ob promise me* (De Koven). Paul Robeson, bs. English Gramophone B 9059.

MENDELSSOHN, FELIX

(See also *Murdoch* and *Prokofiev*)

Ruy Blas: Overture, op. 95. London Phil. Orch. con. Beecham. English Columbia LX 879.

MEYERBEER, GIACOMO

Les Huguenots: Duet, Valentine and Marcel, Act III: Excerpts. Johanna Gadske, s; Edouard de Reszke, bs; Metropolitan Op. Orch. con. Philippe Flon. (Jan. 24, 1903) (Re-recorded from Mapleson cylinder) International Record Collectors Club 168.

MOLLOY, J. L. (See *Swarthout*)

MONTEVERDI, CLAUDIO

L'Orfeo. E. De Franceschi, bar; E. Lombardi, t; G. Mannacchini, bar; A. Marone, bs; G. Vivante, s; V. Palombini, m-s; E. Micolai, m-s; Corradina Mola, hpschd; Alceo Galliera, o. con. Ferruccio Calusio. Musica Italiana Antica.

MOZART, WOLFGANG AMADEUS

(See also *Murdoch* and *Vivaldi*)

Concerto, clarinet, K. 622, A maj. Reginald Kell, clar; London Phil. Orch. con. Sargent. Reverse: *Fantasiestücke, clarinet, op. 73, no. 1.* (Schumann) Kell, clar; Gerald Moore, pf. English Gramophone C 3167-70.

Concerto, horn, K. 447, E-flat maj. Aubrey Brain, hn; B. B. C. Sym. Orch. con. Boult. English Gramophone DB 3973-74.

Le Nozze di Figaro: O säume länger nicht. Reverse: *An der schönen blauen Donau* (J. Strauss). Selma Kurz, s; orch. con. Julius Harrison. (Oct. 1925). International Record Collectors Club 165.

Quartet, strings, K. 421, D min. Blech Str. Quart. English Decca K 923-25.

Symphony, K. 504, D maj (Prague). Chicago Sym. Orch. con. Stock. Columbia M-410.

MURDOCH, WILLIAM

Piano recital: Golliwogg's Cake-Walk (Debussy); *Waltz, op. 64, no. 2, C-sharp min* (Chopin); *Moment musical, op. 94, no. 5, F min* (Schubert); *Papillon, op. 43, no. 1* (Grieg); *Sonata, K. 331, A maj: Rondo alla Turca* (Mozart); *Melody in F, op. 3, no. 1* (Rubinstein); *Rustle of Spring, op. 32, no. 3* (Sinding); *Chanson triste, op. 40, no. 2* (Tchaikovsky); *Hark, bark, the lark* (Schubert, Arr. Liszt); *Lieder ohne Worte; Op. 67, no. 4* (The Bee's Wedding); *Op. 102, no. 5* (The Joyous Peasant) (Mendelssohn); *To the Spring, op. 43, no. 6* (Grieg). William Murdoch, pf. English Decca F 495-99.

NANINO, GIOVANNI MARIA

(See *Early Liturgical Music*)

OLD ITALIAN MUSIC

Sonata, clavier, C min (Galuppi); *Concerto, oboe, D min* (Marcello, Arr. Bach); *Sonata, clavier, A maj* (Rutini); *Sonata, clavier, F maj* (Sacchini); *Sonatas, clavier: Longo 97, B-flat maj; Longo 79, G maj; Longo 24, E min; Longo 103, G maj.* Ruggiero Gerlin, hpschd. Musica Italiana Antica 9-13.

OTHMAYR, KASPAR

(See *Early German Lieder*)

PADEREWSKI, IGNACE JAN (See *Beethoven*)

PAGANINI, NICCOLO

Caprices, nos. 1-12 (Arr. David). Ossy Renardy, vln; Walter Robert, pf. Victor M-672.

Caprices: No. 13, B-flat maj; No. 20, D maj. Yehudi Menuhin, vln; Marcel Gazelle, pf. English Gramophone DA 1500.

PALESTRINA, GIOVANNI PIERLUIGI DA

(See *Early Liturgical Music*)

PASQUINI, BERNARDO

Aria. Reverse: *Sicilienne and Gavotte* (Castrucci). Emma Boynet, pf. French Polydor 561.146.

PITTALUGA, GUSTAVO (See *Swarthout*)PROCH, HEINRICH (See *Verdi*)

PROKOFIEV, SERGE

Classical Symphony, D maj, op. 25. Reverse: *Octet, op. 20: Scherzo* (Mendelssohn). Minneapolis Sym. Orch. con. Mitropoulos. Columbia X-166.

PUCCINI, GIACOMO (See also *Charpentier*)

La Bohème: Che gelida manina. Reverse: Luisa Miller: *Quando le sere al placido* (Verdi). Giuseppe Lugo, t; orch. con. Elie Cohen. French Gramophone DB 5093.

Tosca: O de beautés égales; Le ciel lui sait d'étoiles. Giuseppe Lugo, t; orch. con. Elie Cohen. French Gramophone DA 4992.

PURCELL, HENRY

(See Scarlatti, A. and Swarthout)

RAVEL, MAURICE

Introduction and Allegro. Lilly Laskine, hp; Calvet Quart; Marcel Moysse, fl; Ulysse Delecluse, clar. Victor 4509-10.

Introduction and Allegro. Laura Newell, hp; Stuyvesant Str. Quart; John Wummer, fl; Ralph McLane, clar. Reverse: *La Fille aux cheveux de lin* (Debussy, Arr. Grandjany). Laura Newell, hp. Columbia X-167.

RESPIGHI, OTTORINO

Antiche Danze ed Arie per Liuto, ser. 3. Reverse: *Allegretto* (Marcello, Arr. Barbirolli). Boyd Neel Orch. English Decca X 256-58.

RIMSKY-KORSAKOV, NICOLAI

The Nightingale and the Rose, op. 2, no. 2. Reverse: *On Wings of Dream* (Arensky). Rosa Ponselle, s; Romano Romani, pf. Victor 16451.

ROBINSON, EARL

Ballad for Americans. The American Singers; Charles Welch, bar. Varsity 8350-51.

ROLLA, ALESSANDRO

Sonata, E-flat maj. Emanuel Vardi, vla; Vivian Rivkin, pf. Royale 620-21.

RUBINSTEIN, ANTON (See *Murdoch*)

RUTINI, GIOVANNI PLACIDO

(See *Old Italian Music* and *Vinci*)

SACCHINI, ANTONIO

(See *Old Italian Music*)

SAINT-SAËNS, CAMILLE

Danse macabre, op. 40. Chicago Sym. Orch. con. Stock. Columbia 11251D.

Samson et Dalila: Mon cœur s'ouvre à ta voix. Reverse: *La Favorite: O mon Fernand* (Donizetti). Felia Litvinne, s. (Acoustic recording.) International Record Collectors Club 5011.

Scherzo. Mlle. Herrenschildt and

Isidore Philipp, 2 pfs. French Polydor 561.143-44.

SAMBURSKY, S. (See *Songs of Palestine*)

SAUVEPLANE, HENRI EMILE

Quartet, strings, F min. Ortambert Quart. French Polydor 516.789-90.

SCARLATTI, ALESSANDRO

Se Florindo e fedele. Reverse: *Dido and Aeneas: When I am laid in earth* (Purcell). Marian Anderson, c; Kosti Vehanen, pf. Victor 17257.

SCARLATTI, DOMENICO

(See *Old Italian Music*)

SCHORR, BARUCH (See *Synagogue Music*)

SCHUBERT, FRANZ PETER

(See also *Murdoch* and *Synagogue Music*)

Erlkönig, op. 1. Lilli Lehmann, s; pf. (ca. 1904) (Re-recording.) International Record Collectors Club 5005.

Moments musicaux, op. 94. Artur Schnabel, pf. Victor M-684.

Sonata, piano, op. 120, A maj. Robert Casadesus, pf. French Columbia LFX 585-86.

Ständchen: Horch, horch, die Lerch'. Reverse: *Sapphische Ode, op. 94, no. 4* (Brahms); *Gesang Weylas* (Wolf). Kerstin Thorborg, c; Leo Rosenek, pf. Victor 16966.

Die Winterreise, op. 89: No. 13, Die Post; No. 18, Der Stürmische Morgen; No. 23, Die Nebensonnen; No. 15, Die Kräbe; No. 19, Täuschung; No. 22, Mut; No. 5, Der Lindenbaum; No. 17, Im Dorfe; No. 8, Rückblick; No. 20, Der Wegweiser; No. 21, Das Wirtshaus. Lotte Lehmann, s; Paul Ulanofsky, pf. Victor M-692.

SCHUMANN, ROBERT (See also *Mozart*)

Du bist wie eine Blume, op. 25, no. 24. Reverse: *Feldeinsamkeit, op. 86, no. 2* (Brahms). Julia Culp, m-s; Fritz Lindemann, pf. International Record Collectors Club 171.

SIBELIUS, JAN

Karelia Suite, op. 11: No. 1, Intermezzo; No. 3, Alla marcia. London Phil. Orch. con. Walter Goehr. Victor 12830.

Romance, op. 42, C maj. B.B.C. Sym. Orch. con. Boult. English Gramophone DB 3972.

SINDING, CHRISTIAN (See *Murdoch*)

SMETANA, BEDRICH

Quartet, strings, no. 1, E min (From my life). Primrose Quart. Victor M-675.

SONGS OF PALESTINE

Shirath Hecbalil (Zaira); *Hazorim B'dimah* (Weiner); *Pakad Adonay* (Zaira); *Emathay* (Folk melody); *Yerushalayim* (Folk melody); *Ayn Charod* (Ezrahi); *Ma-aseh Seh Ugdi* (Walbe); *Ba-ab Menucha* (Sambrusky); *Nigun Bialik* (Folk melody); *Shir Eres* (Engel). Robert H. Segal, bar; ch; Alexander Richardson, pf. con. A.W. Binder. Victor M-687.

STRAUSS, JOHANN (See also Mozart)

Frühlingsstimmen, op. 410. London Phil. Orch. con. Beecham. Columbia 70338D.

STRAUSS, RICHARD

Der Rosenkavalier: Waltz. Vitya Vronsky and Victor Babin, 2 pfs. Victor 13150.

STRAVINSKY, IGOR

(See also Bach and Levitzki)

Capriccio. Jesus Maria Sanroma, pf; Boston Sym. Orch. con Koussevitzky. Victor M-685.

SWARTHOUT, GLADYS

Gladys Swarthout in Song: Rinaldo: Lascia cb' io pianga (Handel); *Come again* (Dowland); *The Libertine: Nymphs and Shepherds* (Purcell); *Le Temps des lilas* (Chausson); *Romanza de Solita* (Pittaluga); *El Majo discreto* (Granados); *Serenade* (Carpenter); *My Lagan Love* (Arr. Harty); *The Kerry Dance* (Molloy); *The Lord's Prayer* (Malotte). Gladys Swarthout, m-s; Lester Hodges, pf. Victor M-679.

SYNAGOGUE MUSIC

Kol Nidre; Tov L'hodos (Psalm 92) (Schubert); *V'hakobanim* (Schorr); *Kaddish* (Lewandowski); *Hasbkivenu* (Lewandowski); *Kiddush* (Efros). Robert H. Segal, bar; Synagogue ch; Alexander Richardson, o. con. A. W. Binder. Victor M-688.

TCHAIKOVSKY, PETER ILITCH

(See also Murdoch and Musorgsky)

Concerto, violin, op. 35, D maj. Nathan Milstein, vln; Chicago Sym. Orch. con. Stock. Columbia M-413.

Francesca da Rimini, op. 32. London Phil. Orch. con. Beecham. English Columbia LX 887-89.

Hamlet: Overture, op. 76b. London Phil. Orch. con. Antal Dorati. English Gramophone C 3176.

The Sleeping Beauty: Ballet, op. 66. Sadler's Wells Orch. con. Constant Lambert. Victor M-673.

Tchaikovsky Recital: Speak not, o beloved, op. 6, no. 2; None but the lonely heart, op. 6, no. 6; So soon forgotten (Romance no. 19); *The Enchantress: Aria, Act IV; 'Twas you alone, op. 57, no. 6; Song of the Gypsy girl, op. 60, no. 7; Complaint of the bride, op. 47, no. 7; One small word, op. 28, no. 6; At the ball, op. 38, no. 3; Children's song, op. 54, no. 16.* Maria Kurenko, s; Sergei Tarnowsky, pf. Victor M-678.

VAUGHAN WILLIAMS, RALPH

Fantasia on a theme by Tallis. B.B.C. Sym. Orch. con. Boulton. English Gramophone DB 3958-59.

The Lark Ascending. Boyd Neel Orch; F. Grinke, vln. con. Boyd Neel. *Hymn tune prelude: Eventide.* Boyd Neel Orch. English Decca X 259-60.

VERDI, GIUSEPPE (See also Puccini)

Rigoletto: Caro nome; Biondo (Marino). Reverse: *Variazioni* (Proch); *L'Incantatrice* (Arditi). Maria Galvany, s. (Re-recording.) Historic Record Society 1049.

VINCI, LEONARDO

Largo. Reverse: *Menuet* (Rutini). Emma Boyner, pf. French Polydor 561.145.

VIVALDI, ANTONIO

Concerto, flute, op. 10, no. 3. Reverse: *Andante, flute, K. 315* (Mozart). Lucien Lavallotte, fl; chamber orch. con. Edvard Fendler. Pathé PA 1831-32.

Concerto, violin, D maj (Arr. Dandelot). Denise Soriano, vln; orch. con. Charles Münch. Pathé PAT 154-55.

Sonata, violin and bass, C min (Arr. Crussard). Dominique Blot, vln; Claude Crussard, pf. Victor 13484.

WAGNER, RICHARD (See also Massenet)

Rienzi: Overture. Reverse: *Les Troyens: Marche troyenne* (Berlioz). Paris Cons. Orch. con. Weingartner. Columbia X-169.

Siegfried Idyll. Vienna Phil. Orch. con. Walter. *Die Feen: Overture*. London Sym. Orch. con. Coates. Victor G-12.

Tristan und Isolde: Love duet (excerpts). Lillian Nordica, s; Ernestine Schumann-Heink, c; Georg Anthes, t; Metropolitan Op. Orch. con. Alfred Hertz. (Feb. 9, 1903) (Re-recorded from Mapleson cylinder) International Record Collectors Club 167.

WALBE, J. (See *Songs of Palestine*)

WALTON, WILLIAM

Duets for children; Façade: Popular song (Arr. Seiber). Ilona Kabos and Louis Kentner, 2 pfs. English Columbia DX 972-73.

WEBER, C. M. VON

Aufforderung zum Tanze (Arr. Weingartner and Woodhouse). London Phil. Orch. con. Weingartner. English Columbia LX 890.

WEINER, LAZAR (See *Songs of Palestine*)

WOLF, HUGO (See *Schubert*)

ZAIRA, M. (See *Songs of Palestine*)

